# *Pope* Julius *the Second.*

A Comical and Facetious

# DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

# JULIUS II,

# *EVIL GENIUS,*

AND

# *St.* PETER.

---

Written originally in *Latin* by

The Great *ERASMUS*;

And now Tranſlated into *Engliſh*,

By *Philanglus Miſo Papas.*

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*Lector Riſum Cohibe.*

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# THE PREFACE.

THIS *Dialogue at first made its Entrance into the World* Incognito, *and so continu'd for above an Hundred and Sixty Years; till at last it was found to be the Offspring of the Learned* Erasmus, *that inimitable Master of Dialogizing. Thus many an Infant, tho' most exactly well Featur'd and consummately Pretty, has been wilfully neglected and abandon'd by its true Progenitor, for fear*

*the owning of the ſame ſhou'd have been attended with ill Conſequences, as in ſuch Caſes it frequently happens. The Secret perhaps is kept for a conſiderable Time, till ſome Body ariſes who is well vers'd in the Father's Phyſiognomy, Eclaircifes the Matter, diſcovers the Bantling's Original, and all's out.*

*The enſuing Dialogue is a Parallel Inſtance; which tho' it was the genuine Iſſue of the inimitable* Eraſmus's *Brain, yet the World was not ſenſible of it for above an Age. The Great Author, for important Reaſons, choſe to be* Anonymous *all his Life-time; and remain'd in the ſame Obſcurity, till a Critical and Judicious Comparer of ſome Places in his Epiſtles, with others in this ingenious Performance, has given ſuch am-*

*ple*

*ple Demonſtrations of its Genealogy, as leaves no room to queſtion hereafter from whence it came, and to whom it belongs.*

*A Conference is preſix'd by the Publiſher to the Original of the following Dialogue, which gives a very ſatisfactory Account of the juſt Conjectures in this Point. I have not inſerted the ſame here, yet I deem'd it not improper to give a ſmall Sketch of its Deſign.*

*He there recites ſeveral Paſſages which he has collected from* Eraſmus's *Familiar Epiſtles, as alſo from this Conference; whoſe Harmonious Agreement in Senſe, and ſometimes a very Identity of Expreſſion, undeniably proves that they both had one common Parent.*

*The ſame Critick likewiſe, from his accurate Obſervations of the Epiſtles of* Eraſmus, *informs us,*

*that*

*that the Occaſion of writing this Satyrical Dialogue, was his being preſent when this proud Military Pope made his Triumphal Entrance into* Bononia, *and the inveterate Hatred which he conceiv'd againſt him for that Anti-Chriſtian Pageantry. After which Information, we need not wonder why he ſo induſtriouſly conceal'd himſelf; he being then actually within the Verge of his Holineſs's Vindictive Reſentments, and very much in Society with the moſt rigid Papal Devotees.*

*He tells us moreover, That the Scarcity of this Book proceeds from the indefatigable Pains of the Jeſuits, who engroſs'd 'em all to themſelves, not for Love, but Fear; not out of Veneration for them, but on purpoſe to ſuppreſs and demoliſh them. Which End they had well nigh*

*nigh attain'd, for not above one or two found the way into this Nation. One of which accidentally being lodg'd in a worthy Gentleman's Library, by his Consent was communicated to the World, and printed at* Oxford *in the Year* 1680. *Which Impression is by some means or other, (perhaps by the same Jesuitical Precaution as before) so taken care of, that not many of the same are now visible.*

*They that value* Erasmus's *Writings, must of necessity have a kind Regard for the following Piece; which whosoever peruses in its Native Language, will confess it to be no way inferiour to any of his Works of that kind, in Festivity and Elegance, if not superiour.*

*The Translation of this Dialogue, I acknowledge wants much of that Vivacity and Poignancy for which*

*which the Original is ſo remarkable: Neither has it any thing elſe to recommend it, more than the good Deſign of diverting the* Engliſh *Readers, as alſo at the ſame time, of exploding the Superbe Pontiff of* Rome, *and all his Adherents, and raiſing a juſt Averſion againſt their deteſtable Religion; which they wou'd fain introduce and plant in our Realm, and from which, by the benign Providence of the Almighty Protector, we have very lately been ſo glorioufly deliver'd.*

# Pope *JULIUS* II.

## A

# DIALOGUE.

*JULIUS.* High Day! no opening of the Doors? what a plague's the Matter? I fancy the Lock is chang'd, or confoundedly out of order.

*Gen.* See whether you have apply'd the right Key.

*Jul.* The Key is right enough, 'tis my Key of *Power.*

*Gen.* If that won't do, try your Key of *Knowledge.*

*Jul.* I never had it in my Life-time. Nor do I ſee any occaſion there can be for that ſuperfluous Key, when the other is in my Poſſeſſion.

*Gen.* I am afraid it will do us but little good at this preſent Juncture. The Lock is very particular, ſtrong, and croſswarded.

*Jul.* Let it be never ſo ſtrong, what then, Impertinent?

*Gen.* What then? why then we are like to be ſhut out, that's all.

*Jul.* Shut out! ha, ha, ha; a Pope ſhut out of Heaven! that wou'd be a ſtrange Piece of News.

*Gen.* Perhaps not ſo ſtrange as true.

*Jul.* I'll try that immediately; you ſhall ſoon be undeceiv'd. Hey! who waits there? what are ye all Deaf?

*Gen.* For ought I can perceive, we may ſtand here knocking our Heels to all Eternity; or (which is moſt probable) be forc'd to adjourn to ſome other Place.

*Jul.* This unmannerly Uſage provokes me to the higheſt degree. I'll thunder at the Doors, but I'll make 'em hear with a vengeance. What, Hoa! come and open the Door ſome of you in a Moment —— What can be the Meaning of all this? No Body to give due Attendance! —— What is this loyt'ring Porter a doing? Sure he is faſt aſleep, ſnorting and ſnoring after a drunken Bout.

*Gen.* How charitably he judges, and (according to the Proverb) meaſures other People's Corn by his own ſcandalous Buſhel!

*Pet.* 'Tis well we have here an Adamantine Portal, which defys all Violence either Human or Diabolical, otherwiſe it were now in danger of being broke by ſome Body's rude Attacks. Perhaps it is one of the gigantick Race, or ſome troubleſome Hector, or ſome domineering Potentate, that thus with Authority takes upon him to command the Gates to be open'd. But, O Heavens! what abominable Stench is this? enough to corrupt the Sweetneſs of our Celeſtial Air. Before I admit any one, I'll look thro' the Lattice, and ſee who this unſavory new Gueſt is, and examine him a little. Who are you? whence come you? and what's your Buſineſs?

*Jul.* Pray be not ſo full of your Queſtions, but open in a Minute. 'Twas your Place and Duty to have met me with your Celeſtial Courtiers dreſt in all their Formalities.

*Pet.* Say you ſo? 'tis pity we were not ſooner appriz'd of the coming of ſo diſtinguiſh'd a Perſon, that we might have done you Juſtice. But I muſt crave leave of your Haughtineſs to let me underſtand who

who you are, and what right you have for such extraordinary Respect to be paid you.

*Jul.* What, I warrant, you don't see who I am!

*Pet.* See! yes truly I do see, an odd and uncouth Spectacle, an hideous kind of Monster in my Judgment.

*Jul.* You are in a bantring Mood I perceive; but if you are not as blind as a Post, you can't be ignorant of this *Key*, this *Triple Crown*, and these *Robes* glistering with Gold and Diamonds.

*Pet.* A fine Silver Key truly you have got, a solitary one, and that nothing at all like those which Christ the true Shepherd of the Church once deliver'd into my custody. And as for that same vain glorious Crown which you boast of, I can't tell what to make on't; but methinks 'tis such an exalted Piece of Pride, as the most insulting Heathenish Tyrant wou'd be asham'd of; much more shou'd a Candidate for this Place be a Stranger to such Luciferian Inflations. Neither do your splendid Habiliments attract my notice, who always set at nought Gold, Jewels, and all Trumpery of that Nature, valuing them no more than the Dirt under my Feet. But upon a closer view of your fine Accoutrements, methinks they discover you to be a notorious Impostor, by affixing my Name to your *Key*, *Crown* and *Pall*; which strutting Dress I never had any thing to do with; it is rather taken from the Wardrobe of that *Simon*, whom by Christ's Assistance I once most signally overthrew.

*Jul.* Leave your Babbling if you know when you are well; I am not to be trifled with. And if you are so dull as to want Information, know that I am no less a Person than the thrice renown'd *Julius*, whom *Liguria* had the Honour to produce. And for your further Satisfaction, view these embroider'd Letters, *S. P. H. F.* if ever you learned your A, B, C, from them you may gather my Title and honourable Place. You can't be so stupid as not to know their Meaning.

*Pet.* 'Tis probable those Letters may stand for, *Simoniacal, Pestilent, Horrid, Fellow.*

*Gen.* Ha, ha, he. How exactly he has hit the Nail on the Head!

*Jul.* No Sauce-box; they stand for *Supreme, Pontifical, Holy, Father.*

*Pet.* I was widely mistaken it seems in my Conjecture. But be you never so Supreme, here is no room for you in this Place, unless you have been Good as well as Great, and an Holy as well as an High Pontif.

*Jul.* Marry g'ap, you are very nice in chusing your Company it seems. But let me tell you, that if being Holy is so material a Qualification, then are you not a little impudent to make any demur about my Entrance, since I was always grac'd with the Title of most *Holy Father*, which is more than ever you was. You for so many Ages past have never been call'd one jot more than plain *Sanctus*; but all the World allow'd me the superlative Degree, and call'd me *Sanctissimus*, as may be testified by some Thousands of my *Bulls*.

*Gen.* Bubbles, properly speaking, or Bawbles; either Name will befit 'em.

*Jul.* In which never-enough-to-be-rever'd *Bulls* of mine, I am not only call'd *Holy* and *Most Holy*, but *Holiness* it self in the Abstract. And whatsoever I was pleas'd to transact.

*Gen.* Tho' Drunk or Mad.

*Jul.* The same was affirm'd to be done by his Holiness the most *Holy* Father *Julius*.

*Pet.* E'en let them who bestow'd such fine Compliments of Holiness, bestow Happiness upon you; and let the same fulsome Flatterers who dub'd you such a sanctified Person, procure Heaven for you if they can. But, if I may ask one civil Question, is there no difference, think you, between Holiness in meer Title, and Holiness in reality?

*Jul.* I han't patience with your Impertinence; were I but alive again, your Holiness and Happiness

which you ſo much crack of ſnould never diſturb me, you might e'en keep 'em to yourſelf, for the Devil a ruſh ſhould I value 'em.

*Pet.* An extraordinary devout Speech truly, and a Demonſtration of a great deal of inward Sanctity! But no better can be expected from one, in whoſe Compoſition, upon a thorough view, I perceive real Holineſs to be the leaſt Ingredient. And of this your Companions are a clear Evidence. What elſe can be the Meaning of ſuch a ſtrange unpontifical Retinue of above Twenty Thouſand People, which you have brought along with you? Among all which Throng, not one can I ſee that has the leaſt ſtricture of a Chriſtian Countenance. They appear to me to be the very ſcum and dregs of Humankind, Fogh! how vigorouſly they ſmell of Mercury, Brimſtone, Brandy, Gun-powder and Tobacco! They look as if they had been a Crew of mercenary Cutthroats from their Cradles. Or rather Hell ſeems to have diſembogu'd its ugly Fiends, which are advancing hither to make once more an audacious Attempt againſt Heav'n's King. Prodigious! the more I look, the more I am amaz'd; how little of the Apoſtolick Paſtor is to be diſcern'd? what's the Meaning of that prepoſterous Garb, ſacerdotal Habiliments on the outſide, and under thoſe, bloody Weapons, and rattling Armour? What mean thoſe fell Eyes, that domineering Aſpect, that menacing Brow? To my ſhame and grief I ſpeak it, there is not one Part about you but exhibits a plain Indication of a moſt profligate Ruffian. Ev'n at this preſent Time your Hiccups and Belchings betray your riotous Courſes; nay, if I am not miſtaken, I but juſt now ſaw you a ſpewing. Out you Beaſt!

*Gen.* How he deſcribes him to a Hair, and ſets him out in his proper Colours?

*Pet.* Aye, you may knit your Brows, and look as ſtern as you pleaſe, yet I ſhall take the Freedom to declare my Thoughts. You appear to me rather

like the Heathen *Julius* your Nameſake, than a Pope; more like a General, than a Prelate.

*Jul.* Ma. di. ſi.

*Pet.* What does he ſay?

*Gen.* He is in a vehement Rage now; whenever he open'd in that Manner, not a Cardinal durſt continue in his Preſence, unleſs he had a mind to have his Brains knock'd out with his Holineſs's Cudgel.

*Pet.* I perceive you are intimately acquainted with him; may I crave your Name?

*Gen.* I am the *Genius* of the great *Julius.*

*Pet.* The *Evil Genius* I ſuppoſe.

*Gen.* Good or Bad, I am *Julius's.*

*Jul.* Come prithee leave fooling, and open the Doors in a trice, unleſs you have a Mind to have 'em forc'd open, I ſhall be very conciſe with you; don't you ſee what ſort of Gentlemen I retain? I ſhall let my booted Apoſtles looſe upon you.

*Pet.* Yes verily I do behold a parcel of conſummate Rakes by their Phyſiognomies, who queſtionleſs would be turbulent and boiſterous enough if it lay in their Power. But pray take notice that an entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven is to be gain'd by a Violence quite different from what you threaten.

*Jul.* Enough of your Babble; do what I order you immediately, or expect no Quarter. I ſhall in the firſt Place thunder out my Excommunication againſt you, with which I have terrified Kings, and ſhook the Foundations of their Kingdoms. See here I have a Bull ready for the ſame purpoſe, I ſhan't ſpare you.

*Pet.* What Thunder and Lightning, what terrible *Bulls* are theſe you talk of? we never ſo much as heard of any ſuch Things as *Bulls* mention'd by Jeſus Chriſt.

*Jul.* You ſhall experience what they are to your coſt, if you provoke me one Minute longer.

*Pet.* Per-

*Pet.* Perhaps you may formerly have frighted the Ignorant with your Bugbears, but they will not be regarded here. This Fortreſs is to be taken by good Actions, and not by Arrogant Speeches. But I ſhould be glad to know by what Authority you pretend to menace me with Excommunication.

*Jul.* By Authority good enough; for you having been dead for many Years, are no more than a private Perſon now, and may be dealt with as ſuch.

*Pet.* If Death debars us from all terreſtrial Power and Juriſdiction, methinks you ſhou'd be in the ſame Caſe with myſelf as to that, ſince you have bid adieu to the ſublunary World as well as I, and have as little to do with it.

*Jul.* There you betray your Stupidity. For 'tis well known, that ſo long as the Conclave have not determin'd the Choice of a new Pope, the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs runs in my Name; ſo that I am not ſo entirely dead yet as you imagine.

*Gen.* How deliriouſly he fancies himſelf ſtill alive!

*Jul.* Come, come, open the Door.

*Pet.* Until I am a little better convinc'd of your Chriſtian Life and Converſation, I ſhall not hearken to you.

*Jul.* What does he mean, what would he be convinc'd of?

*Pet.* I'll tell you in few Words what I mean. Have you been ſedulous in Propagating the Doctrine of Chriſt?

*Jul.* No truly, I had other Fiſh to fry. I was too much engag'd in Wars to trouble myſelf with ſuch Matters. There were Jeſuits, Prieſts, Monks and Friars enow, whoſe Trade it was to mind that Formality.

*Pet.* Did your ſhining Example attract a great many Souls to God?

*Gen.* A great many to the Devil I am ſure.

*Pet.* Were your Affections ſet much more on heavenly than earthly Things? *Did you ſeek the Kingdom of God and his Righteouſneſs* in the firſt Place? Were your Prayers frequent and fervent, pious and pure?

*Jul.* What canting Stuff is all this?

*Pet.* Did you mortify your ſenſual Appetites, was you crucified to the Pomps and Vanities of the World, *have you been blameleſs, vigilant, ſober, of good behaviour, given to Hoſpitality, apt to teach, not given to Wine, no ſtriker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient; not a brawler, not covetous?*

*Gen.* You muſt look ſome where elſe for ſuch Qualifications; I'll aſſure you 'tis but time loſt to put any ſuch Interrogatories to him.

*Pet.* Theſe I am ſure are the expected Endowments of a ſupreme Paſtor; if he knows any that be more Apoſtolical, let him declare 'em; I know of none.

*Jul.* Tho' 'tis beneath the illuſtrious *Julius*, (who never yet ſubmitted ſo low as to give an Account of himſelf to any Perſon whatſoever) to truckle to *Peter*, who at the beſt was but a ſcrubby Fiſherman, and next Door to a Beggar; yet for once I'll condeſcend to tell you, that you may be ſenſible of what Rank and Quality the Perſon is whom you treat ſo unmannerly, and may beg my Pardon. Know then I am a Native of *Liguria*, not a contemptible *Jew* as you was; in the next Place I was Nephew to *Sixtus*, a Pontif very remarkable.

*Gen.* For his Vices he means.

*Jul.* By whoſe good Graces, and my own indefatigable Induſtry I wriggl'd into the beſt Preferments; and at laſt from one degree to another, I arriv'd to a Cardinal's Hat. I confeſs after that, for ſome time I was made Fortune's Foot-ball, as it were, and toſs'd up and down by divers calamitous Accidents; afflicted moreover with variety of Diſtempers, and amongſt the reſt, the *French* Pox (as they

they call it.) To all which evil Circumſtances I may add, that I was hated by ev'ry Body, and was look'd upon then as a meer Abject. Notwithſtanding all which Diſcouragements, I was not to be beat off from a firm Perſwaſion, that, maugre all Obſtacles, I ſhou'd be Pope before I died. And here I can't forbear obſerving, what oppoſite Impreſſions one of the Female Sex made on you and me. A Woman ſtruck you into a ſudden Fear, (as I have been told) damp'd your Courage, and quite diſpirited you. But a Woman (a Witch of my old Acquaintance) was the main Encourager of my reſolute Deſigns. She once on a certain Time, when I was embarraſt with a multitude of Troubles, and almoſt ſinking under them, came privately, and whiſper'd in my Ear theſe conſolotary Words; "My dear *Julius*, "(quoth ſhe) be not daunted, but perſevere in your "Attempts. Flinch at nothing, be ready to do or "ſuffer any thing with Intrepidity. The Time "ſhall certainly come to paſs, when a Triple "Crown ſhall adorn thy Temples, and thou ſhalt "be ſtil'd King of Kings, and ſublime Lord of "Lords." Nor was this infernal Oracle miſtaken; for wading thro' all Difficulties, at length, to the Amazement of all Mankind, I mounted to the Meridian of my Glory: And this I atchiev'd in a great Meaſure by the Aid of the Lady *Pecunia*, the chief Commander of all Terreſtrial Things. Now to procure a large quantity of the Sovereign Coin, I made uſe of ſome Stratagems wherein I ſhew'd myſelf a great Maſter of Ingenuity.

*Pet.* Pray may I hear ſome Inſtance of your tranſcendant Parts?

*Jul.* You ſhall. I procur'd a great deal of Money from the Clergy, by making luſty Promiſes of the fatteſt Benefices: And my Method was to tell each particular Perſon in private, that in caſe I ſhould be advanc'd to the Triple Crown, ſuch a Dignity, or ſuch a Preferment ſhou'd be his; promiſing the ſame Thing to twenty People, enjoyning ev'ry one

to

to keep ſecret what I communicated to him. Thus tickling their Ears with the bewitching Sounds of good Livings, Priories, Abbeys and Biſhopricks; and others with hopes of Civil and Military Offices, I drain'd the *Dupes* conſiderably. Nor was I leſs buſy with thoſe of the higheſt Rank, whoſe Suffrages I knew carried a great ſtroke in the Election of a Pontif. Of theſe I took up great Sums, not boggling at the moſt extravagant Intereſt; by which Means I contracted Debts too large for any Perſon leſs than a Sovereign Power to repay. So that when the Chair was vacant, my Dependants and Creditors ſtrove Tooth and Nail to get me in, that I might be capacitated to clear my Scores. This I imagin'd would be the Conſequence of my running deep in Debt, (for I had always a plaguy long Head) and ſo it prov'd. But 'tis in vain to tell you all the Tricks I made uſe of to amaſs up Wealth; they are Myſteries out of your reach, intelligible only to Stock-jobbers, Bankers, and the Trading Part of the World. Thus I have let you into the Secret how I obtain'd the Chair of Infallibility. In the next Place I'd have you to know that I behav'd myſelf in that Station ſo cleverly, that Chriſt himſelf and his whole Church was never half ſo much beholden to any of the Primitive Biſhops of *Rome*, (who indeed were but Shadows of Biſhops not worth mentioning) nor to any of the Modern Popes, who infinitely ſurpaſs thoſe of the firſt Ages; I ſay again, Chriſt was never ſo much indebted to any of them all, ſo deeply as he is to me.

*Gen.* What a vapouring Monſter 'tis!

*Pet.* You ſpeak great Things of yourſelf, I long to hear 'em made evident.

*Jul.* You muſt underſtand then, I invented a great many new Offices, never heard of before; and ſome ingenious Taxations, ſuch as laying a Duty upon Brothel-Houſes, and all Dealers in Venereal Ware; this brought in Caſh conſiderably into the Pontifical Treaſury. Then I had a pretty Way of

ſelling

ſelling Biſhopricks, and yet there was no Simony in the Caſe, as you ſhall hear. It was an Antient Conſtitution, that when any one was to be promoted to a Biſhoprick, he was to make a formal Surrender of the ſame, and modeſtly to refuſe it. Now I made this Interpretation of that old Cuſtom; when any Perſon came to me on that Account, I told him he muſt firſt make an actual Reſignation of a Biſhoprick; but none can be ſaid to reſign what he never was in Poſſeſſion of; therefore he muſt firſt Purchaſe, that he may with Propriety of Speech be ſaid to lay it down. And this I juſtified to be ſufficiently Legal, and far from being Simoniacal; for it was return'd to him freely without Price, after the ceremonious Surrender of his Purchaſe. By this ſubtle Device, I made Six or Seven Thouſand Ducats of every Biſhoprick, beſides cuſtomary Fees for their Inſtruments, which I ſkrew'd up pretty high. Beſides all this, I rais'd no ſmall Sum from a new Coin, with which I furniſh'd all *Italy*. In a Word, I made it my only Buſineſs to heap up Riches, being well appriz'd of their Univerſal Power, and that no Affairs either of Church or State cou'd go on proſperouſly without them. But to proceed, I ſhall now give you a ſmall Sketch of my more important Exploits. I reſtor'd *Bononia*, which had been poſſeſt by the *Bentivoli*, to the Papacy; I routed the *Venetians* at Sea, who till that Time had been invincible; I had well nigh brought the Duke of *Ferrara* into my Toils, after his having been long harraſs'd with a vexatious War. I luckily ſhifted off a damn'd Schiſmatical Conventicle that was deſign'd againſt me, by another Sham-Council of mine, conven'd in oppoſition to them; ſo that according to the old Proverb, I made one Nail drive out another. Then for the *French*, who bore a formidable Sway, and were juſtly to be dreaded by all the *European* Princes, whenever they threaten'd an Enlargement of their Territories; Them, I ſay, (notwithſtanding their King had been wondrous helpful

to

to me) I ſent packing out of *Italy*; and was juſt come to the Point of ferreting the *Spaniards* out, if the too rigid Fates had not ſnatch'd me from the Land of the Living, and put a ſtop to my Carreer. I vow, *Peter*, I had always a noble undaunted Spirit, I fear'd neither God nor Man, nor was I ever dejected in my Life-time above once: and once indeed my Courage was ſomewhat caſt down, my Affairs being brought to a confounded low Ebb, ſo that I began to be in a deſponding Condition; when lo! a Heavenly Courier brought me Intelligence of ſeveral Thouſands of the *French* kill'd at *Ravenna*. This reviv'd old *Julius* i'faith, inſomuch that for Joy I was reſolv'd to appear young again, by mowing off a ſwinging Hoary Beard, which I had nurs'd up for a pretended ſhew of Gravity. In a Word, what with my roaring Leonine Power, and what with my Serpentine Wiles, I play'd my Part incomparably; embroiling all the Chriſtian World in Wars; breaking, fruſtrating, diſuniting all their Leagues, Confederacies, and Alliances, tho' never ſo cloſely and ſacredly contracted. And to crown all my Adventures, tho' I kept up a prodigious Standing Armament, exhibited a great many triumphal, ſumptuous Pageants, was at the ſole Charge of ſeveral glorious Theatrical Diverſions, built ſo many ſplendid Edifices, yet I died worth Fifty Hundred Thouſand Pound. I am poſitive I ſhould have done greater Miracles, if that circumcis'd Diſciple of *Hippocrates*, my Phyſician, who kept me alive a conſiderable Time purely by Art, could poſſibly have ſpun out my Thread any longer. It would be an eternal Satisfaction to me, if e'en now, the Devil or ſome of his Agents cou'd by Art Magick help me to one turn more upon Earth, whereby I might have an Opportunity of giving the finiſhing Stroke to my Divine Undertakings. As far as lay in my Power, on my Death-bed, I took all poſſible Care and Precaution, that the Flame of thoſe Combuſtions which I had blown up all over the World ſhould

not

not be extinguiſh'd. To which end I ſecurely ſettled vaſt Sums to be appropriated to that very Uſe and Purpoſe, namely, to keep up the foremention'd Hoſtilities; after which Pious and Devout Injunctions I breath'd out my laſt. And now have you the Conſcience to ſcruple the opening of Heaven's Gate, to one, who has been ſo preciouſly advantageous to Chriſt and his Church, ſo meritorious beyond all my Predeceſſors? Conſider moreover, (which adds not a little to my Praiſe) that I perform'd all theſe Things which I have mention'd by my own ſheer Proweſs, being oblig'd to no Aſſiſtance of any kind whatſoever, ſuch as uſually facilitate the Attempts of others. I am ſure I ow'd no Encouragement to Greatneſs of Birth, being ſo obſcure as to that Point, that I never knew who begot me. Neither did Comelineſs or Beauty recommend me, for I had a hagged Phiz: Nor was Learning any of my Talents, foraſmuch as I had always an Averſion to Books; nor was Strength of Body a Perfection belonging to me, becauſe (as I have already hinted,) my Conſtitution was miſerably broken with Pox and other Diſtempers; nor had I the Benefit of Youth, being an old Fellow when I began to riſe; neither was my proſperous Gale owing to the Air of Popularity, ſince every Body hated me as the Devil. And laſtly, it could not poſſibly be ſaid, that I inſinuated myſelf into the Affections of People, by the Clemency and Sweetneſs of my Temper, when 'tis well known I was as implacable and cruel as a Tyger rob'd of her Whelps towards moſt People, but eſpecially towards thoſe who were moſt my Benefactors; confirming the old Obſervation, that 'tis dangerous highly to oblige Great Perſons.

*Pet.* This is prodigious indeed.

*Gen.* Tho' lying has been cuſtomary with him, yet he ſpeaks Truth at preſent, I'll vouch for him.

*Jul.* But

*Jul.* But, as I was telling you, I ſtem'd the Tide againſt all the foreſaid Diſadvantages, and chiefly by my own indefatigable Activity, (maugre all the Oppoſition of God or Men) I and my Money wrought our way, put Nations into a ferment, and cut out Work ſufficient to keep 'em in Employment for one Ten Years at leaſt. I don't tell a word of Falſity in the whole Relation of my Actions; which if they were to be amplified with Flouriſhes of Speech by ſome of my obſequious Orators, who were always in readineſs to extol me with their Panegyricks at *Rome*, you wou'd ſwear then you heard the Deſcription of a Deity rather than a Mortal.

*Pet.* Thou peerleſs Man of War! foraſmuch as theſe Paſſages of your Life are ſo ſtrange, and ſuch as I never before now was acquainted with, pardon my Amazement and Curioſity if I prove a little more inquiſitive than ordinary, and deſire to be inform'd ſomewhat more fully in ſeveral Particulars of what you have related, and what I ſee myſelf. In the firſt place, what is the meaning of thoſe youthful effeminate Attendants of yours, ſo ſprucely deck'd and trim'd up?

*Jul.* They are ſuch as I keep for ſome uncommon and ſpecial Diverſions.

*Pet.* And what are thoſe of a contrary Aſpect, namely thoſe ſwarthy Fellows, with their Faces full of Cuts and Scars?

*Jul.* They are Officers and Soldiers, who died in the Bed of grinning Honour, whilſt they gallantly fought for me and the Church. Some fell in aiding me to recover *Bononia*, ſome in my Battles againſt the *Venetians*; and a multitude of them were ſlain at *Ravenna*. To all which noble Army of Martyrs, Heaven is their proper Due by Contract; I myſelf having promis'd under Hand and Seal, that all thoſe who loſt their Lives under the Banner of Pope *Julius*, ſhou'd directly march to Heaven, without the leaſt Examination how they liv'd.

*Pet.*

*Pet.* If I am not miſtaken, ſome of thoſe very People were exceeding troubleſome to me a little before your Arrival, bluſtring and threatning to enter here by Violence; and to juſtify their Proceedings, they produc'd ſome leaden-ſtamp'd Parchments, or Tickets, which they ſaid they had from you, but I did not regard 'em.

*Jul.* I am perfectly aſtoniſh'd; what not give 'em entrance!

*Pet.* I give 'em entrance? no truly, nor to any ſuch Martyrs, as you call 'em. My Orders from Chriſt Jeſus are not to open theſe Celeſtial Doors to the Bearers of Popes ridiculous Permits or Mandates, but to thoſe only whoſe Lives and Converſations have been ſuch as become Chriſtians: *Who have fed the Hungry, gave Drink to the Thirſty, cloath'd the Naked, viſited the Sick and Impriſon'd.* If ſome are renounc'd *who have propheſy'd in Chriſt's Name, and in his Name have caſt out Devils, and done many wonderful Works*; if ſuch Profeſſors, who ſeemingly were ſo well acquainted with him, are deny'd Admiſſion into Heaven, think you that a paltry Recommendation in *Julius*'s Name will ſignify any thing?

*Jul.* Had I been certified of your diſobeying my Order -----

*Pet.* I gueſs your meaning. That is, if any of your Favourites had come to you from their Infernal Abodes, and had told you how baſely I had ſerv'd 'em, then I muſt have been corrected I ſuppoſe.

*Jul.* True enough; I ſhould certainly have excommunicated you.

*Pet.* Very well; but anſwer me a little further: What is the fancy of yourſelf being arm'd?

*Jul.* Marry! as if the Pope had not Authority to make uſe of the Sword as it is taken in both Senſes; or how ſhould I engage with my Enemies without Weapons?

*Pet.*

*Pet.* I know not what abſolute Neceſſity you had for Martial Engagements: I am ſure all the time of my Apoſtleſhip, I knew the Management of no other Sword beſides that of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.

*Jul.* If it were true what you ſay of yourſelf, 'tis owing to your Dulneſs for not knowing the Extent of your Commiſſion. Though I am not, nor ever was, much acquainted with the New Teſtament, (as they call it) yet from that little that I have heard, I am ſure I can make it evident to any vulgar Capacity, that you and all your Succeſſors were authoriz'd to uſe the Temporal, as well as the Spiritual Sword.

*Pet.* Pray favour me with your Evidence.

*Jul.* Can't you recall to your Memory a Paſſage, that when two Swords were offer'd to Chriſt by ſome of you, did not he ſay, It is enough?

*Pet.* True; what then?

*Jul.* What then! why what cou'd have been ſpoken more clear and intelligible to entitle the Supreme Pontif to the Power of bearing the Sword Temporal as well as Spiritual?

*Pet.* I do not yet underſtand what you drive at.

*Jul.* Intolerable Dolt! Is it not plain, that if one of the fore-mention'd Weapons did not belong to you; when mention was made of Two Swords, Chriſt's Anſwer had been very improper in ſaying, *'Tis enough.* He ſhou'd rather have ſaid, *It is too much.* But you know he only ſaid, *It is enough*; which is a fair Commiſſion for both Swords.

*Pet.* Profoundly argued indeed! far beyond our Penetration into the Meaning of thoſe Words of Chriſt, I confeſs: But you ſeem'd juſt now to queſtion my Veracity when I diſown'd ever uſing the Secular Sword, and claiming any ſuch Authority.

*Jul.* Nor without reaſon. Pray rub up your Memory, and tell me who cut off *Malchus*'s Ear, and with what kind of Inſtrument?

*Pet.*

*Pet.* I acknowledge the Fact: But know, that I employ'd the Sword then in a Zeal for my dear Maſter, and not for my ſelf; for the Defence of my Saviour, and not for Avarice or Worldly Grandeur: And if ever you gave yourſelf the trouble of reading that Sacred Hiſtory, you will find that my too forward Warmth met with an immediate Check, being commanded to put up my Sword; which was a plain Intimation that Weapons of that nature were never proper for Eccleſiaſticks, and but occaſionally for any Chriſtian Profeſſors. But more of this preſently. In the mean time I adjure you upon your Pontifical Honour, tell me faithfully and ſincerely, is the Way which you have been juſt now deſcribing, the common Method of obtaining the Pontifical Dignity, namely, by Money and other Corruptions?

*Jul.* Between you and me it has been ſo for ſeveral Ages; but very likely the Conclave will not tread preciſely in the ſame Steps in the Election of my Succeſſor: For I myſelf took ſpecial care after my Promotion to prevent the like Practice, by iſſuing out a formidable *Bull*, that none ſhou'd ever hereafter be advanc'd upon the ſame account as I was, and that my iniſter and ſcandalous Elevation ſhou'd not ſtand for a Precedent; and this I did for Reaſons beſt known to myſelf.

*Pet.* You was very much in the right; for ſurely you was the moſt proper Perſon in the World to ſet forth the horrid Conſequence of electing a wicked Miſcreant, becauſe you cou'd lawfully ſay, I know it by Experience. But if (as you tell me) ſo many Difficulties were to be encounter'd, and ſuch *Herculean* Labours to be overcome before any one cou'd poſſeſs the Chair, it raiſes my Wonder why the Place ſhou'd be coveted. I am ſure in my time, there was no ſtriving for the Office of a Biſhop, but rather it was declin'd; and we were forc'd to uſe a great many Arguments and earneſt Entreaties to

perſwade Perſons to accept of, and undertake that momentous Charge.

*Jul.* That's no Wonder at all, becauſe in your Days Biſhops, and other Eccleſiaſticks, were not ſo well paid, nor inveſted with ſuch ample Revenues. Their Recompence was too often Wearineſs, Painfulneſs, Watchings, Faſtings, Cold and Nakedneſs, Stripes, and not ſeldom Death in the Concluſion. Theſe were no mighty Temptations to ſet People a hunting after Biſhopricks: But now the Caſe is quite otherwiſe, they live in Grandeur, Eaſe and Plenty, and loll in their Chariots and Coaches, and eſpecially the ſuper-eminent Biſhops of *Rome*: They are now Princes, deſpotick Tyrants, Rulers of Kings and Emperors. And who a pox wou'd not fight and wade through Rivers of Blood to gain ſo much Pow'r, and ſuch extenſive Dominion?

*Pet.* Very well: But to be ſatisfy'd a little in ſome other of your Particulars; you were ſaying juſt now, that you brought *Bononia* to the See of *Rome* again: Pray had it apoſtatiz'd from the Faith, that it ſtood in need of a Reſtoration, and a new Reception into the Church?

*Jul.* No, no: that was not the Buſineſs.

*Pet.* Perhaps the Male-adminiſtration of *Bentivoglio* was like to ruin the Republick.

*Jul.* So far from it, that no City was ever more improv'd, nor more beautified with ſtately Buildings, than that was by him, which indeed was one Reaſon of my gaping after it.

*Pet.* Then ſure he had no Right or Title to it.

*Jul.* There you are out again; for it had been in his Family a long time, by a firm Conceſſion from former Popes.

*Pet.* What, did not the Inhabitants love him?

*Jul.* Not Love him! they perfectly doated on him, and had an implacable Averſion to me.

*Pet.* If Matters were ſo as you acknowledge, I don't ſee what Reaſon you had to moleſt him in, and deprive him of his rightful Poſſeſſion.

*Jul.*

*Jul.* Don't you truly? but I ſaw Reaſon enough; which to be plain with you was this, that out of his ample Revenues, not much above one third Part found the way to my Treaſury: Beſides, what I did was abſolutely neceſſary at that Time for the Deſign I was driving at; neither, in ſhort, could I, nor would I be without it. By the Aſſiſtance therefore of the *French*, together with my terrible Denunciations of Anathema's and Curſes againſt all who concur'd not with my Will and Pleaſure, I made a ſhift to kick out *Bentivoglio*, and ſet Cardinals and Biſhops to rule over the City, that not one Penny of its Treaſure ſhould ſtraggle from its fitteſt Proprietor, the Church. To which I may add, that it was a plaguy Eye-ſore to me, that he appear'd in the ſight of the World as a ſovereign Prince, and his Effigies forſooth muſt be rear'd up in State: But I put an end to all ſuch Preſumptions; no Statue is erected now but ours, no regal Titles or Inſcriptions are viſible now but ours. Now *Julius* ſtruts in breathing Marble or well poliſh'd Braſs, almoſt in every Street: And then, had you been ſo happy as to have ſeen the glorious triumphal Entry which I made into *Bononia*, it would have done your Heart good, and made you fully ſenſible what Cauſe I had to fight with Fury for the gaining of that Place: Then, if ever, your Eyes would have been bleſt with the View of the Church Triumphant.

*Pet.* It ſeems then the Kingdom of Glory, which my Lord and Maſter taught us to pray for, was actually come at that Time. If it was ſo, I am ſure it was very much unexpected, coming without the leaſt antecedent Appearance of the Kingdom of Grace. So much for *Bononia*: Now for the *Venetians*; What, I beſeech you, had they done to provoke your Holineſs?

*Jul.* Why they grew, in the firſt place, very prick-ear'd and ſawcy, making me their Sport, and

a down-right May-game; and not only ſo, but they loaded me with Accuſations.

*Pet.* Were the Accuſations true or falſe?

*Jul.* What's that to the Purpoſe? 'Tis impudent, profane, nay, 'tis next door to Blaſphemy to mention ſo much as the Name of the Pope, unleſs it be with the profoundeſt Reſpect and Veneration. Then again, theſe unmannerly impious People confer'd all their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments as they thought fit themſelves, never asking my Leave; nor would they make their Appeals to my Court in all weighty Matters, nor apply themſelves to the infallible Decider of all Controverſies. The Devil of a Diſpenſation, Commutation, Pardon or Indulgence would they traffick with me for all the Year round: But 'tis needleſs to give any farther Account why they incur'd my Wrath and Diſpleaſure, when I ſhall have told you this one thing, how the *Paltroons* did unſufferably damnify the See of *Rome*, by ſacrilegiouſly poſſeſſing themſelves of no ſmall part of your Patrimony.

*Pet.* My Patrimony! prithee, what doſt thou call my Patrimony? I diſown all ſuch Claims: 'Tis well known that I quitted all to follow my Maſter, and conform'd to his bleſſed Example, who was deſtitute of all worldly Conveniences, having not a piece of Money to pay his Tribute, nor a Place where to lay his Head.

*Jul.* You don't take me right. I know well enough your Eſtate lay in a very ſmall Compaſs: But by your Patrimony I mean certain Towns that belong to the See of *Rome*, which the moſt Holy Fathers have formerly chriſten'd by that Name: Sometimes we call 'em the Sanctified Territories, Holy Ground, the Saint's Perambulation, the *Purlieu* of Chriſt's Vicar, and ſuch like ſacred Appellations, for diſtinction ſake; to deter the profane Part of the World from making Irruptions into, and faſtning their impious Clutches upon the ſame.

*Pet.* I perceive you take a vaſt greater Care of your own Lucre than my Reputation: I thought, by the intolerable Loſs which you mention'd, that ſome Towns were overwhelm'd with Wickedneſs and Irreligion, and ſo were loſt to God and all Goodneſs.

*Jul.* Pſhaw! don't talk of ſuch Stuff. I ſay I was ſome Thouſands of Ducats the worſe for 'em *per Ann.* as much as would maintain a good ſtanding Army.

*Pet.* A very heavenly-minded Conſideration truly! But the Duke of *Ferrara*, what Miſchief did he to you?

*Jul.* What! He was the moſt ungrateful Rogue of all Rogues. My Predeceſſor, *Alexander*, that precious Vicar of Chriſt, honour'd him to that Degree, as to beſtow one of his Daughters upon him for a Wife.

*Pet.* One of his Daughters! I thought it was not cuſtomary with Popes to have Wives and Children.

*Jul.* Not Wives of their own, 'tis true; but that is no invincible Argument why they may not have Children: 'Tis poſſible, I hope, to have Children without being married; and ſo may Popes as well as others, for 'tis well known they are not gelt. But to go on with my Story: This *Ferrarian* had a rich Principality ſettl'd upon him by way of Portion; too much for ſuch a Beetle-headed good-for-nothing Perſon as he was: Notwithſtanding which immenſe Bounty, this Ingrate was perpetually yelping out his Bear-garden Language, calling me *Simoniacal* and *Sodomite*, and the Lord knows what. Then he had the impudence to demand ſome Penſion of me, which tho' 'twas but ſmall, yet it would ſerve for Powder and Shot, and was too much to be over-look'd by a careful and wary Paſtor.

*Gen.* A Pillager in plain *Engliſh*.

*Jul.* But the chief Reason was, what I intimated before in the Case of *Bononia*; it lay very convenient for me, I cou'd not well be without it, and therefore it was necessary to tack it to the Church's Inheritance: Moreover, my Design was to thrust him out, and to plant one in his Room descended from my own Family, a brave mettlesom Fellow, one that wou'd stick at nothing for the Advancement of the Church; of which he gave a Demonstration, when he stab'd a Cardinal at my Request with his own Hand.

*Pet.* A very deserving Person indeed: But what was the occasion of that Schismatical Synod which you mention'd?

*Jul.* 'Twill be too tedious to relate all from first to last concerning that Affair; however, I'll make the Story as short as I can: The Court of *Rome* (you must know) began to be look'd upon as none of the most Regular, Honourable, and Holy; so far from that, that every Body reported it to be most infamous for its filthy Lucre, horrid unnatural Lusts, Murder, Sorceries, Sacrilege, Rapine, common Sales of Ecclesiastical Preferments. As for my own particular self, they scrupled not in the least to say, I was a simoniacal, obscene, worldly-minded Person, and a perfect Scandal to the sacred eminent Office which I bore; that I was so far from taking a Paternal Care, that I was the Bane of the Christian Commonwealth, and that I acted so contrary to the Duty of a good Shepherd, to feed his Sheep, and keep them in Peace, that I scatter'd them, and sent them to the Shambles; in a Word, that it was high time to call a General Council, to redress these Grievances. They said, I had taken a solemn Oath in Two Years space after my Election to call a General Council, and that I was inaugurated on that very Condition.

*Pet.* And was it really so?

*Jul.* Yes; 'twas real Matter of Fact, I did swear so to do; but what then? I absolv'd my self from



that

that Oath when I thought proper; As for ſwearing, who but a mad Man wou'd ſcruple to ſwear, when a Crown, nay, a Triplicity of Crowns was in purſuit? Some ſuperſtitious Fools indeed wou'd have been troubled with Qualms of Conſcience in that Caſe; but, for my part, I diſcarded all ſuch Niceties, I never was ſo ſtrait lac'd: But mark the Effrontery of ſome Men! Do but behold to what a height of Impudence theſe Malecontents arriv'd! Nine Cardinals actually revolt, they declare for a General Council; they ſolicit, beg and pray that I wou'd confirm it, and preſide. When I ſtifly deny'd them, they enter'd a publick Proteſtation againſt me; they cite a Council, *Lewis* the Twelfth of that Name impiouſly abetting their Proceedings, and permitting them to ſit at *Tours*. I can't ſpeak it without Horror, theſe ſchiſmatical Conventiclers endeavour'd to rend the ſeamleſs Veſture of Chriſt in pieces, which his very Crucifiers left undivided.

*Pet.* But was you ſuch a manner of Perſon as they repreſented you?

*Jul.* How many times muſt I tell you, that was nothing to them? If I was never ſuch a lewd Letcher, Blockhead, Brute, or arrant Villain, yet I was Pope, that's enough. Take this for a Maxim, that from the firſt moment of a Pope's Election, no Vices or Imperfections are to be aſcrib'd to him; he immediately becomes Sanctify'd and Infallible, and ought to be look'd upon with Adoration.

*Pet.* What, tho' moſt notoriouſly wicked?

*Jul.* Ay, tho' as manifeſtly glaring as the Sun at Noon Day; wherefore 'tis an unſufferable Thing that every little paltry Fellow ſhould dare to open his Mouth, and blatter againſt Chriſt's Subſtitute, and preſume to find fault with, and reprimand an earthly Divinity.

*Pet.* But 'tis againſt common Senſe and Reaſon to entertain favourable Sentiments of one whom all the World knows to be a profligate Wretch; and

those whom we think ill of, 'tis impossible to speak well of without giving the Lie to our Judgments.

*Jul.* As for inward Thinking, let 'em do as they please; let 'em think their Bellies full, provided they can rule their Tongues: Let every one either speak honourably of us, or clap a Padlock on his Chops, and say nothing. A Pope must not be animadverted upon, not even by a General Council.

*Pet.* Of the Truth of that Position I am not yet fully convinc'd; but this one Thing I am sure of, that whosoever has the Honour to be Christ's Representative, ought to be specially careful to conform himself to his Image and Similitude as near as he can; and so to demean himself through the whole Tenour of his Life and Conversation, that he may be Blameless, and that no evil Surmises against him may have a just Foundation. The Integrity of that Pontiff is shrewdly to be suspected, when the People's Commendations of him are more owing to his Menaces than good Actions; when no Body can give him a good Character without contradicting his Conscience, and whose utmost Happiness must consist in frightning Folks into a Silence, and laying an Embargo upon their Tongues: But tell me sincerely, can a scandalous and pestilent Pope be no ways degraded and remov'd?

*Jul.* What a ridiculous Question is that! Who shou'd remove him that is Supreme, in whom all Power upon Earth is lodg'd?

*Pet.* For that very Reason he ought to be displac'd, because of the great Power he is entrusted with. 'Tis certain, that the more exalted Station an exorbitant Person is plac'd in, the fairer Opportunities he has to do Mischief, and the more pernicious will he prove to Human-kind. But I must crave leave to make this Observation, how widely different a chief Bishop, such as you have been

been deſcribing, is from thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt's Ordination? According to what I hear from you, a Pope is ſo wholly taken up with the Thoughts of his being Supreme, that he drops the Conſideration of his being a Biſhop; and he imagines the Loftineſs of his Title authorizes him to be uncontroulably Vicious; that this *Roman* Biſhop is inveſted with ſuch an univerſal Juriſdiction, that Kings, Monarchs, tho' moſt abſolute, next under God, are but his Vaſſals; that the Pope is as much ſuperior to the Emperor, as the Sun is to the Moon; that the Dominion of all Sovereign Princes depends upon his Will and Pleaſure; that he challenges to himſelf the Authority of depoſing them, firſt by excommunicating, and after that dethroning them, and abſolving their Subjects from that Fealty and Allegiance which is always due to crown'd Heads, by God's own Appointment; After which, it is not only lawful to take up Arms againſt, but alſo a meritorious Act to murder ſuch Princes as have been anathematiz'd by this pretended ſupreme Diſpoſer of Crowns, and Judge of all the Earth. Laſtly, that by Divine Right he is empower'd to commence War againſt any Prince, not for the Melioration, but (if it lies in his Power) the utter Extinction of him; and this not for any material Provocation, but becauſe he is ſo unfortunate as to incur this domineering Biſhop's Diſpleaſure, for not complying with his Deſpotick, and perhaps impious Injunctions. In the mean time, that which is very ſurpriſing, in my Opinion, is, that though this Oecumenical Primate is deeply immerſt in all ſorts of Wickedneſs, trampling on all Laws, both Divine and Humane, and turning the whole World into a Chaos, as it were, by his outrageous Villanies, I ſay, becauſe this Monſter is advanc'd to the Biſhoprick of *Rome*, therefore no Potentate, nay, not all the unanimous Powers of the Univerſe can check him, or remove him from his ſublime Province. Since no Humane

Force

Force cou'd be exercis'd upon you, methinks *Julius*, 'twas very happy for Mankind that Death durſt lay his icy Hands on your Lordſhip, and effect what you reſolutely affirm is not in the power of Men to do, namely, withdraw you from your Throne, and bleſs the World with the ſeaſonable Riddance of ſuch a Nuſance. I am apt to think you was not a little mov'd at this Proceeding of inexorable Fate itſelf, for its preſumptuous and rude Attachment of your ſanctify'd Perſon; but is this agreeable (think you) with Jeſus Chriſt's firſt Deſign? Was this the tender Care he took for the Security of his Church, to give an unlimited Commiſſion to any of his Ambaſſadors to act in the moſt arbitrary Manner, and to annex to the See of *Rome* an Impoſſibility of being call'd to an Account, or ejected for the moſt vile and ſcandalous Adminiſtration?

*Jul.* You are always for trumping up of ſome antiquated Precedent of what was done in the Times of Ignorance: For my Part, I never diſquieted myſelf at all about Chriſt's Deſigns, he might do as he pleas'd, and ſo will we, I know not who ſhould hinder us. This I am poſitive in, that if a Pope muſt be reprimanded, it muſt be done by a General Council; and I am as poſitive that no General Council can be ſummon'd without the Pope's Concurrence: And if any ſchiſmatical Aſſembly, which is conven'd without the Pontiff's Indiction, pretend to enact any thing, all ſuch lame Council Acts are invalid. Alas! a General Council is but a meer Carcaſs without the Pope's Confirmation; 'tis the infallible Head that is the Life and Soul of the whole Convention; they without him are like inſignificant Idols, which have Mouths, Ears, Eyes and Noſes, yet can neither ſpeak, hear, ſee, nor ſmell: So that 'tis as evident as any Propoſition in the Mathematicks, that unleſs the ſupreme Prelate of *Rome* calls a Council to accuſe and condemn himſelf (and the

Devil

Devil is in him for a Fool if he does) there is an utter Impoſſibility of diſlocating him for any Crime whatſoever.

*Pet.* Strange! What for no Crime? Suppoſe he murders a Man,

*Jul.* Tho' he murder'd his own Father, it will not do.

*Pet.* Not for Fornication and Adultery?

*Jul.* Ha, ha, ha, you joke; there muſt be a new Pope every Week, if ſuch Peccadillo's were ſufficient for a Removal: no, believe me, ſo inſignificant are thoſe Actions, that Inceſt, which is a Degree beyond, would ſignify nothing.

*Pet.* Not for a ſimoniacal Contract?

*Jul.* Not for Ten Thouſand.

*Pet.* What if he be a Magician?

*Jul.* It avails nothing.

*Pet.* Nor Blaſphemy?

*Jul.* Nor that.

*Pet.* What if he be known to be a common Receptacle of all thoſe horrid Impieties together?

*Jul.* Had you nam'd Five Hundred Sins more, that were Five Hundred times deeper (if poſſible) yet a Pope's Perſon is ſacred, and bids defiance to all his Antagoniſts; he is not to be ſtir'd from his Seat.

*Pet.* You ſeem'd juſt now to acknowledge, that if a Pope was to be remov'd, it muſt be done by a General Council; but now, methinks, you quite ſtrip them of that Power again. That Power, which in primitive Times, like a College of Phyſicians, was made uſe of to rectify any Diſorders which might ſeize the Body Eccleſiaſtick; but now-a-days I perceive you are extreme averſe to ſubmit to any ſuch Regulation. As for the Supreme Head, (which Title I know is your Delight) tho' it be ſo craz'd and delirious as to become a publick Calamity and Plague to the Catholick Church; yet ſuch a corrupted and ignominious Head (it ſeems) ſhall not be liable to the Cenſure of a ſana-

tive

tive Council, which is the holy Church's Repre-ſentative, either to be cut off quite, (as it deſerves) or at leaſt to be degraded and ſent to *Bedlam*, the proper College for the incurably diſtracted. But, tell me once more, has a General Council nothing to do with the Biſhop of *Rome*? Is he abſolutely out of their Reach?

*Jul.* Between you and I, there is but one thing for which ſome ſay a Pope may be depos'd.

*Pet.* Pray let me hear that; it muſt be for ſome good Deed I gueſs, for he is not to be meddled with for any bad ones as I hear.

*Jul.* 'Tis what we count the worſt of all Crimes, that is to ſay, *Hereſy*, which is the only unpardonable Crime; but this is but trifling and frivolous, nor does the Pontifical Monarch regard it a ruſh. There are a Thouſand Evaſions to be reſorted to in caſe of Neceſſity, if a Pope has any Brains in his Skull: In the firſt place, all Laws are at our Command; then, in the next place, who dares lay any thing to the Charge of Chriſt's Vicar? Let me tell you, he muſt be a very bold adventurous Fellow who will undertake it, eſpecially when he ſees him well guarded with his Dragoons, whoſe Arguments are not eaſily anſwer'd. And in the third place, if he is accus'd of Hereſy, and the Conviction is ſo evident as not to be evaded, what an eaſy matter is it for him to ſign a Recantation, and ſo ſleep in a whole Skin?

*Pet.* Pray will your Pontifical Majeſty tell me who made thoſe Laws you juſt now mention'd, over which you have ſuch an entire Command?

*Jul.* Who ſhou'd make them but the Superlative Biſhop of *Rome*, who is the Light of the Church, the Guide of Truth, the original Fountain of all Laws? And to the ſame unerring Oracle it belongs to interpret the Law, to cut and contrive it, to widen or narrow it, lengthen or ſhorten it, ſtrengthen or weaken it; in a Word, to do with it

at all Times as it appears moſt convenient in his infallible Judgment.

*Pet.* Theſe Popes have a rare Time on't, and they want nothing to complete their Happineſs, but the Power to make ſuch a Law as may baffle Chriſt as well as a General Council; it wou'd be well for them if they cou'd do ſo. But to be ſerious with you; ſuch a Pontiff as you have repreſented, that is to ſay, one that is in the ſight of all the World a wicked, lewd, beaſtly, rapacious, murdering, perjured, ſimoniacal, magical Caitiff (all which Properties, by your own Confeſſion, are conſiſtent with the Papacy); for ſuch a Prodigy of Nature, I ſay, a Mob with Clubs and Stones to knock his Brains out, and free the World from ſuch a publick Contagion, wou'd be much more proper than a General Council. But what's the Reaſon (I marvel) why the Pope abominates a General Council ſo implacably?

*Jul.* He has reaſon abundantly upon ſeveral Accounts; for firſt, an Aſſembly of ſo many illuſtrious Perſons muſt unavoidably make the Pope ſuffer ſome Obſcuration; he will not appear ſo dazling as when they are not preſent: Beſides, the bright Accompliſhments of ſome who may be there, will perhaps prompt 'em without Ceremony to deal a little too plainly: They that are Learned will be encouraged by their own penetrating Parts to ſpeak with Intrepidity: They who are Innocent, and love the Thing that is right, the Clearneſs of their Conſciences will render them as bold as Lions, and authorize 'em to ſpeak with more Audacity than may be convenient for our Reputation: And they of high Rank, and noble Extraction, will not be afraid to ſpeak their Minds, relying on their own Grandeur, and back'd by their own Power. There will be ſome likewiſe, who out of meer Envy to our Pomp and Glory, come with a full bent to clip the Wings of his Holineſs, by contributing as much as they can to detract from his Authority:

Nor

Nor is there any one particular Member of the Synod, but will greedily lay hold of that Opportunity of a General Council to vent his Spleen againſt the Pope, that being an allow'd Time for giving a looſe to the inward Conceptions of the Mind; whereas, at other Times they dare as well eat Fire Coals as diſcover the ſmalleſt Muttering: Their Number defends them, and what they ſay then is with Safety and Impunity. In the laſt place, we have no cauſe to be in love with Councils; for there never was any one yet concluded ſo favourably, wherein his Holineſs was not a Loſer; by having ſome of his Prerogative ſnipt and impair'd. Of this you yourſelf are an Inſtance, which ſtands recorded for ever, though the Conteſt indeed was about Matters of no Conſequence, not for Regal Poſſeſſions and Supreme Power, amaſſing of Riches, the chief Spring of our Bickerings now-a-days; yet at that Time *James* ſcrupled not to add ſomething to your Speech by way of Supplement, notwithſtanding the Vogue of your Supremacy: For when there was a Meeting at *Jeruſalem*, to deliberate about the Caſe of the *Gentile* Proſelites, that were converted to the Faith, you may recollect, if you are not troubled with a ſhallow Memory ——

*Pet.* I pretty well remember it; proceed.

*Jul.* How that you exempted them totally from the Obſervation of the leaſt Tittle of the Moſaical Rites; but *James*, as it were ſnibbing you by correcting your Determination, declar'd for the *Gentiles* Compliance with ſome Precepts, namely, to abſtain from Pollutions of Idols, from Fornication, from Things ſtrangled, and from Blood; and this was ſo remarkable a diminiſhing of your abſolute Power in deciding of Controverſies, and made ſuch an alteration of the Opinions of a great many, that even to this Day there are not a few who maintain that the Univerſal Monarchy over the Church belongs to *James* more juſtly than to you. By this you may ſee what a mighty Refreſhment

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Conventions are to a Pontiff; in my Mind it had been much more for your Credit, if you had been a Bed and aſleep, than to have been preſent at that Aſſembly. I am apt to think it was no ſmall Mortification to you.

*Pet.* You are miſtaken; if a Superiority over the reſt of my Fellow-Apoſtles had been my Peculiar, (as you and your Predeceſſors, all for your own Ends, erroneouſly aver) yet ſhould I have thought it no wrong Step to ſuffer myſelf to be over-rul'd by judicious and prudent Advice, being always more deſirous of glorifying my God, than aggrandizing myſelf: But you, it ſeems, lay a greater Streſs upon the keeping up the Grandeur of your Poſt, and the Title of Supremacy, than the real Advantage of the Chriſtian World. Vain-glory is the one Thing neceſſary to be regarded in your Judgment; but never was in mine.

*Jul.* Faith every one loves himſelf beſt; I was reſolv'd to take care of one, whatever became of all the World beſides.

*Pet.* Poor ſpirited *Julius*! Had Chriſt been of that Temper; had not he been more frank and generous than to conſult only his own Advantage, Happineſs and Glory, all Mankind had been in a moſt miſerable Condition; there then had been no Church for you to have been the boaſted Head of, neither any Poſſibility of your being Chriſt's Vicar-General, as you arrogantly call'd yourſelf; but full ill does that honourable Name befit one who acts in all Things ſo diametrically oppoſite to the Saviour of the World. But pray tell me (if it be not too troubleſome to you) how you went to work to ſuperſede this ſame ſchiſmatical Council, as you call it?

*Jul.* I'll tell you, if you have Capacity ſufficient to take me right. In the firſt place, you muſt underſtand, that *Maximilian*, the Emperor, (who, according to the antient Privileges of the *Roman* Emperors, as Hiſtories inform us) had in-

indicted a Council very ſolemnly, upon the earneſt Application of thoſe diſſatisfy'd Grumblers, being pretty eaſy to be wrought upon, was by me ſo finely bam'd as to recall his Mandates, and deſiſt from his Purpoſe. I likewiſe, by Ways and Means, which ſhall be nameleſs, diverted ſome Cardinals from their fix'd Reſolutions of having a Council; inſomuch, that what they had poſitively determin'd by publick Declarations, they flatly deny'd before Witneſſes and publick Notaries.

*Pet.* Was that juſt and right?

*Jul.* How can it be otherwiſe, when the Pope conſents to it? If he alone pleaſes, Wrong is Right, and Right is Wrong: His Diſpenſations can make an Oath no Oath, alter the Nature of any Thing, and cancel the ſtrongeſt Obligations: But to ſpeak the plain Truth, that was a bold Stroke, and ſuch as a Man of common Principles might have been aſham'd of; however, it could not be help'd, there was no other way at that Time. At laſt, when I ſaw they wou'd not be put off any longer, and that a Council wou'd unavoidably be cited, and that all their wrathful Reſentments wou'd be levell'd directly at me, who had ſhuffled with them ſo notoriouſly; neither cou'd I tell which way to turn myſelf for an Excuſe, they having complimented me to the higheſt degree, to prevail with me to be preſent at their Aſſembly; nay, they not only fairly invited me, but ſupplicated me on their Knees to authorize the ſame, and preſide. When Matters, I ſay, were come to this deſperate paſs, I cou'd think of no other Stratagem to elude their Deſigns, but by iſſuing out my Orders for a Council at the ſame time, pretending that neither the Time, nor the Place which they had fix'd on, were convenient. Forthwith I ſummon'd a Council, to be held at *Rome*; to which Place I conjectur'd none wou'd reſort who were not Cater-Couſins with *Julius*, or at leaſt ſuch as were not my profeſs'd Adverſaries. I had ſeaſon'd 'em with

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requent Intimations how I ſtood affected, ſo that they cou'd not be ignorant of what I aim'd at: and that I might ſtrengthen my Party, I created ſeveral Cardinals ſlap-daſh, one upon the Neck of another, ſuch as I was ſure wou'd be fit for my Purpoſe.

*Gen.* Which is as much as to ſay, the greateſt Villains upon Earth.

*Jul.* But notwithſtanding all my Precautions, I was ſtill very ſuſpicious, that too great a Concourſe of Biſhops and Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſtick Dignitaries, wou'd turn to my Diſadvantage, it being impoſſible but ſome, out of a conſiderable Number, muſt be pious and learned: To be plagu'd therefore with as few as might be, I adviſ'd 'em to ſend but one or two at the moſt out of each Diviſion, to ſave Charges. Nor yet did I think myſelf ſafe to be canvaſs'd by ſuch a Number, which being delegated from ſo many Provinces, I knew cou'd not be ſmall; therefore, when they were juſt equip'd for their Journey, I ſent countermanding Orders to ſtop their Arrival, pretending it was unanimouſly concluded to prorogue the Meeting to another Opportunity, muſtering up ſome Apology which carry'd a ſmall appearance of the Probable, as ſome ſudden Indiſpoſition of Health, or ſuch like Flam; by which Contrivance the major Part were prevented from coming. Then immediately ordering the Council to ſit on a ſudden, conſiſting chiefly of ſuch as I had pack'd together to ſerve my Turn, I had a glorious thin Congregation; tho' at the ſame time I knew, that of thoſe few all wou'd not cloſe with my Meaſures, nor run ſuch Lengths as I deſir'd: yet I took this for granted, that the moſt of them being my Creatures, not a Soul of the reſt wou'd dare to ſtand up and make Head againſt my Proceedings, as being ſo much out-voted; and not only ſo, but alſo for fear of the cloſe-reaſoning Guards, and the all convincing Weapons with which I was ſur-

rounded. As for that Council at *Tours*, I caſt an horrible Slur upon it, and render'd it moſt odious by this Method: I diſpers'd my Manifeſto's very plentifully into all Parts, wherein I notified the moſt Auguſt and Sacred Synod by me aſſembled, banning and execrating their Anti-Council, beſtowing upon it the charitable Titles of the Devil's Conventicle, Satan's Synagogue, a ſchiſmatical Cluſter of Rogues, a diabolical Crew, and a Den of Thieves.

*Pet.* Theſe are hard Names; but it may be the Cardinals, and other Members of that Council, were horribly wicked, which provok'd you to call 'em ſo.

*Jul.* As for their Morals, I had nothing to object againſt them; 'twas their Oppoſition to me which was their crying Sin, and that which ſtuck moſt in my Stomach. One of the Ringleaders in this Rebellion was the Biſhop of *Roan*, whoſe demure Efforts were ſtrenuouſly bent to purge and reform the Church, forſooth; and this he effected in ſome Places: But (thank Heaven) Death ſtop'd his Vitals, doing me thereby a ſingular Courteſy. But then I was tormented with another in his Room, equally bad, if not worſe; he went by the Title of *The Cardinal of the Holy Croſs*, a *Spaniard*, and a Perſon of an unblemiſh'd Character, but a confounded ſtiff, formal old Fellow, and a huge Profeſſor of Divinity; which kind of Vermin have conſtantly been very troubleſome to Popes, and as it were Thorns in their Sides.

*Pet.* Had this ſame Divine, which you mention with ſo much diſguſt, nothing to ſay for himſelf, to juſtify what he did in contradiction to you?

*Jul.* Yes, to be ſure; he rais'd a bed-roll of paltry Objections, and bellow'd out againſt the horrid Impiety of the preſent Adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and affirm'd, that the Diſtempers which affected the Church, were never ſo loathſome and intolerable as at that Time; and

that

that there was an abſolute neceſſity of a Reforming Council: that when I was promoted to the Chair, I was bound by my ſolemn Oath to cite a General Council within Two Years after my Election, and that the Obligation was ſo ſtrong and ſacred, as to become indiſſoluble; that I had already been guilty of the deteſtable Crime of Perjury by ſhifting it off ſo long: He ſaid moreover, that I had been admoniſh'd over and over by my Fraternity of Cardinals; that Princes had demanded of me the ſame, and yet I turn'd the deaf Ear to all their legal Importunities; ſo that 'twas very manifeſt, that whilſt *Julius* was alive, there was no likelihood of a Council. They pleaded the Antiquity of Synods, the Conſtitutions of the Primitive Church, and the Apoſtolick Canons (as they call'd 'em) wherein they ſhew'd me, that if I with my Partizans were for driving off the calling of a Council, then that Right and Power devolv'd on them. And ſince the reſt of the *European* Princes conſented, in this Caſe they might hold a Council without me.

*Pet.* Did theſe, who were ſo preſſing for a General Council, know of any Crimes and Miſdemeanours you were guilty of?

*Jul.* Pox on 'em, the Rogues knew more than I deſir'd; but however they ſmooth'd their Reſentments, and carry'd it fair outwardly, and very gingerly touch'd my gall'd Back: They not only refrain'd from down-right Railing, but mention'd me with a very ceremonious Reſpect, entreating me by all that was Good and Sacred, by the Dignity of my Office, by the Obligations of Conſcience, and Solemnity of my Oath, that I would take my Place as Preſident in the aſſembled Synod, and together with them uſe a joint Endeavour to repair the Ruins of the Church, and to recover it from the Corruptions wherewith it was become univerſally tainted. Nor can it well be expreſt how odious this mild Procedure of theirs render'd

me; every Body crying out, Shame on me for being ſo refractory and impenetrable to ſuch juſt Importunities, which were moreover abetted and corroborated by them with Quotations from the Scriptures, for (hang 'em) they were Book-learned Fellows that ſet upon me: Nor was Faſting and Prayer, Humiliation and Mortification wanting, in order to work upon and mollify me with their Pageantry of Religion.

*Pet.* Their Demands of a Council, in my Opinion, ſeem'd to propoſe a very good End: What better Colour had you for your Council which you advanc'd in oppoſition to them?

*Jul.* You may be ſure I varniſh'd my Cauſe with a moſt plauſible and ſpecious Hue: I gave out, that I intended to redreſs the whole Chriſtian World, that neither Pope, Prince, nor Peaſant, ſhou'd ſcape this univerſal Scowring.

*Pet.* A comical Farce you acted truly; I long to hear how it concluded. But pray what did thoſe Divines in that Satanical Synod enact?

*Jul.* O moſt horrid deteſtable Things, ſuch as I can't recite without Chagrin.

*Pet.* What! were their Decrees ſo ſcandalous as not fit to be nam'd?

*Jul.* Moſt Impious, Sacrilegious and Heretical; and which, if I had not vigorouſly withſtood, by Force and Policy, with Wit and Weapons, good Night to all the Grandeur of the Church.

*Pet.* You make me impatient to hear what theſe frightful Acts were.

*Jul.* Bleſs me! with trembling Tongue, and faultring Speech, I ſhall tell 'em: Theſe Devils incarnate laid their curſed Pates together, and conſulted how they might reduce the Church, which is now become ſo Glorious and Wealthy, to its primitive Groveling, Meanneſs and Poverty; how they might humble the Loftineſs of Cardinals, who acted in a Sphere too exalted for Eccleſiaſticks, they ſaid, and made as great a Figure in

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the buſtling Scenes of Humane Affairs, as Princes themſelves: That all Biſhops ſhou'd retrench their Way of Living, and not be allow'd ſuch an extravagant Oſtentation of Guards, fine Horſes, ſplendid Equipages, and flaunting Retinues. They decreed that Cardinals ſhou'd not engroſs to themſelves ſuch Numbers of Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and the beſt Benefices; that they who made uſe of ſiniſter Methods to obtain Preferment upon Preferment, ſhou'd be taken into conſideration, and be forc'd to diſgorge their redundant Morſels, and that all ſhou'd be limited to a reaſonable Share. That Pope, Biſhop, nor Prieſt ſhou'd ever be made thro' any Pecuniary Simoniacal Contract, thro' Favour, Reſpect of Perſons, or any nauſeous Flatteries of, or cringing Compliance with the Vices of Great Men, or for the ſake of being engag'd in the Defence of ſome particular Sect or Faction. That Piety, Learning, and true Chriſtian Conduct ſhou'd be the only Qualifications to be regarded in all Candidates for Spiritual Promotions. That whereever any corrupt Collation was found out either amongſt the Superior or Inferior Eccleſiaſticks, they ſhou'd be ſtript of the ſame; That it ſhou'd be lawful to depoſe the Pope himſelf when he becomes openly ſcandalous and impious; That none of the Sacred Function ſhou'd addict themſelves to Drunkenneſs, or frequent Stews, or maintain Courteſans, or engage themſelves too furiouſly in Worldly Concerns and Diverſions. Theſe, and the Lord knows how many ſuch like peſtilent Ordinances, which I ha'n't Patience to acquaint you with, this Pack of impudent Varlets made; which I was reſolv'd never to ratify, as well knowing they aim'd at what I car'd not a Pin for, namely, the Increaſe and Eſtabliſhment of Piety and Morality, and ſuch formal Stuff, and the Decreaſe of my Wealth and Dominion.

*Pet.* Very well: Pray now, if you think fit, let me hear what was determin'd in your moſt Holy and Saint-like Aſſembly, in oppoſition to this wicked Conventicle, as you call it?

*Jul.* You don't ſeem to remember well what I have already told you, that my calling a Council was a meer Illuſion, deſign'd for no other end but to drive out one Nail with another. The opening of my Congreſs was pure Grimace and Comedy. I ſanctified our firſt Meeting with the uſual Ceremonies and Niceties, which ſignified very little to the Purpoſe, but yet muſt be obſerv'd for Form ſake; that is to ſay, two Solemn Maſſes were celebrated, the Maſs of the Holy Croſs, and the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, to amuſe the World with the Thoughts of our acting by its Inſpiration. After this there was a long Panegyrick Oration, every Syllable of which was in Praiſe of myſelf. The next Seſſion I proceeded to thunder out my Excommunication againſt all thoſe Schiſmatical Cardinals, and others of that Synod; as alſo pronouncing all their Decrees whatſoever, whether paſt, preſent, or to come, to be deteſtable, heretical, and damnable.

*Pet.* So that if, upon ſecond Thoughts, they had recanted, and determin'd favourably in your behalf, voting you to be a moſt excellent, conſcientious Holy Pontif, wou'd ev'n that Suffrage have been heretical and damnable?

*Jul.* Moſt certainly: For they judg'd and decreed without any Authority, and had no Foundation for what they did or ſaid.

*Gen.* Infallibly true.

*Jul.* What has ſuch a mutinous Aſſembly to do with Determinations, or meddling with the Character of a Pope? a Pack of prick-ear'd buſy-body Coxcombs. But to go on with my Story. The third Seſſion I brandiſh'd my Thunder-bolts againſt *France*, excommunicating their King for harbouring theſe Conventiclers, taking away the Charter of the City of *Lyons*, and tranſlating its famous Mart to another

another Place; as alſo puniſhing ſeveral other particular Towns in *France* in the ſame manner, which I knew wou'd be the moſt ready way to alienate the Minds of the Subjects from their Prince, and probably to irritate the Rabble, to whom Marts and Fairs are very dear, and thereby raiſe a Rebellion. To all which Denunciations I gave the Stamp of Power, putting them into the dreadful Shape of one of my Bulls, and preſenting them to all the Neighbouring Princes, eſpecially thoſe of my own Party.

*Pet.* Was this all? Did you ſhut up your Convention with this?

*Jul.* Ay, and enough too; at leaſt as much as lay in my power: And if there is any Validity in my Bulls, (which I queſtion not) I think I trounc'd them pretty well. Thoſe three Cardinals who ſtood out Bluff againſt me, I depriv'd according to ſolemn Form *ab Officio & Beneficio*, gave their Revenues to others, beſtow'd my Imprecations on 'em, and deliver'd 'em up to the Devil; and wou'd have deliver'd them up to the Faggot to be made a Bonfire of, if they had been come-at-able. Did not I ſerve 'em right think you?

*Pet.* If I may ſpeak my Thoughts freely, by your Relation (if it be true) the Sanctions of this ſame Satanical Synagogue were ſomething more inclining to Piety and true Reformation, than the Tranſactions of your ſanctify'd Council, (as you term it.) The Reſult of which, as much as I can perceive, was little elſe beſides Tyrannical Menaces, groundleſs Execrations, and a Jargon of Craft and Rage, Pride and Malice, blended together. Though nothing that's good can come from Satan with a good Deſign; yet ſurely if he was the Promoter of that Gallick Council, (as you inſinuate) he ſeems therein to make much nearer Advances to the Temper of Chriſt, than that what-d'ye-call't Spirit which was ſo predominant in your Aſſembly.

*Jul.* Take care what you ſay, and don't prate too much; for in all my Bulls I have curſt all Adherents to that Cage of unclean Birds, by Bell, Book and Candle, and turn'd 'em all over to Lucifer.

*Pet.* Thou intolerable vain-glorious Hector! Juſt the ſame dead as when alive; But what was the End of this Contention?

*Jul.* I left it in that very Poſture; what will further become of it, I leave to the Deciſion of Fortune.

*Pet.* Then the Breach ſtill continues?

*Jul.* Ay, and won't be clos'd up in haſte, take my word for't.

*Pet.* And you, like a righteous Pro-Chriſt, choſe rather to ſow the Seeds of Diſſenſion, than call a regular Council, as you had ſworn to do?

*Jul.* Let the Seeds of Diſcord be ſown to all Eternity, I care not. You may be ſure I wou'd ſooner make a thouſand Ruptures than be ſubject to their Examination. Muſt the Pope appear at their Bar, to be call'd to an account, and diſciplin'd by them?

*Pet.* Where had been the Inconvenience, if you had appear'd amongſt them? Did your Conſcience miſgive you, ſo that you durſt not ſtand Tryal?

*Jul.* What was that to them, or you either? You are ſomewhat free in your Queſtions methinks.

*Pet.* I know your Meaning: 'Tis not proper to harp too much upon that String; or which is a much more ſuitable Compariſon, to be too meddling with, and ſtirring a common Sink or Drain. But can you gueſs who will get the entire Victory?

*Jul.* I told you that is yet in ſuſpence, tho' we bid fair for't. *France* has been ſufficiently harraſs'd, and is pretty well impoveriſh'd; but our Bank holds out notably. I am ſure we have reaſon to wiſh the Victory on our ſide: For this may be depended upon as a ſure Word of Prophecy, that if *France* gets the better, which to prevent, for ſeven long Years gladly I'd Purgatory Flames endure; but, I ſay, if

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it ſhou'd ſo fall out, the Scene of things will be plaguily chang'd, and the Tables will be quite turn'd againſt us. Then their Council will be the Congregation of Saints, and ours of Sinners. Then what a ridiculous Mention will be made of me? I ſhall be call'd a Loggerhead, a meer Picture of a Pope, and what not. All their Decrees will be aſcrib'd to the Dictates of the Holy Spirit, and all ours to the Impulſe of the Devil. Such a confounded Alteration in our Affairs, will be the Conſequence of a *French* Triumph: But I hope better things from the vaſt Stores of ready *Rhino*, which I left behind. *Gold is our Hope, and fine Gold is our Confidence, and in the Multitude of Riches we put our Truſt*, (Old Rock) *and I don't fear but we ſhall manage them.*

*Pet.* Thou wretched degenerate Soul! But what occaſion'd the Rupture betwixt you and the *French* King? Your Predeceſſors honour'd him with the Title of the Moſt Chriſtian, and conſequently were very intimate with him: And you in particular, I thought, muſt of Neceſſity be whole with that Prince, becauſe you had receiv'd ſuch maſſy Favours from him, and ow'd your very Maintenance and Protection to his Benignity for a conſiderable time, according to your own Confeſſion. You may thank him for that ſame Crown which you boaſt of ſo, which is two Story higher than a common Imperial one: 'Twas by his Aſſiſtance you ſubdued the *Venetians*, never till then ſubdued; gain'd *Bononia*, and other Places. How came the Mantle of Oblivion to be caſt over ſuch remarkable, and ſuch freſh Obligations? How cou'd you break through ſuch ſtrong Ties?

*Jul.* I han't Patience to make an exact Narrative of that whole Comedy. But thus far I ſhall inform you, that what I acted in that Affair did proceed from no ſudden Alteration of Temper; 'twas no more than what I had premeditated, and had been hatching a long while, which in due ſeaſon I brought

brought to Maturity. The Posture of my Affairs did absolutely require Dissimulation and Doubling; which Mask, when it was proper, I pluck'd off, and acted bare-fac'd. You may believe me in this, as if an Oracle had declar'd it, that I never had any cordial Affection for the *French*; nor is it possible for an *Italian* sincerely to wish well to *Barbarians*, or love 'em otherwise than the Devil loves Holy-water. The reason why I carried it fair with them for a time, was for my own Ends, to make use of 'em as Tools to do my Business; which when it was done, I did not care if they were sunk to the bottomless Pit. I wou'd have sent 'em to *Old Nick* before if I durst, but it was not in my power. My Temper, you must know, was never to forbear worrying of any one upon Principles of Christianity, or good Nature, but upon Motives of Policy and Fear, lest the cutting of his Throat might endanger my own. For this reason, before my Plots were ripe, I never ceas'd to cajole, lie, flatter, sweeten and tickle the Trouts, and to scatter Plumbs amongst the credulous Coxcombs in abundance: In a word, I was susceptible of any Form, till my Projects had put on a promising Aspect, and then *Julius* appear'd like himself, without Disguise; then did I feast myself with their Destruction, and kick'd the scoundrel *Barbarians* quite out of *Italy*.

*Pet.* I have heard you name *Barbarians* once or twice, pray what sort of Monsters are they?

*Jul.* Monsters! Why, they are Men, and shap'd like other Men.

*Pet.* It may be, tho' they are Men, they are not Christians.

*Jul.* Yes, and they are Christians too: But what's that to the purpose?

*Pet.* Perhaps you mean such People as are unpolish'd, rustical and illiterate.

*Jul.* So far from that, that they were eminent for the clean contrary Character.

*Pet.* What can you mean then by this distinguishing Title of *Barbarians*?

*Jul.*

*Jul.* Hum, ſuch nonſenſical Enquiries!

*Pet.* What does he mutter? I can't hear what he ſays.

*Gen.* I ſee he is not over forward to tell you, therefore I'll Anſwer for him, if you will give me leave. Altho' the *Italians* are a perfect Hodge-podge, deriving their Original from the moſt barbarous Nations, a Common-Shore as it were, and a Receptacle of all the Drainings of Mankind; yet, by way of Aping the conceited Manner of ſome Hiſtorians, they call all Barbarians who are not Natives of *Italy*; which Appellation is counted more ſcandalous and reproachful, then to be ſtigmatiz'd with Murder or Sacrilege.

*Pet.* So it ſeems. I don't wonder now at your Heſitation in anſwering my Queſtion; for if the Caſe is thus, they have as much right to call you Barbarians, as you them. But ſurely ſuch vilifying Language is no ways juſtifiable. If Chriſt died for the whole World, if with Him there is no reſpect of Perſons; if he that begs in the Streets, and he that ſits on the Throne; he that tugs at the Oar, and he that commands Legions, ſtand all upon the Level in his Sight; *and in every Nation, he that feareth him and worketh Righteouſneſs ſhall be accepted of him*; and ſince you profeſs yourſelf to be Chriſt's Vice-gerent, why do you make ſuch national Reflections, ſuch an invidious Diſtinction betwixt one Country and another, and uncharitably ſeparate thoſe whom Chriſt hath united.

*Jul.* As for that, I was never ſo ſqueamiſh to refuſe any, provided I lik'd them. Were they *Indians*, *Africans*, *Ethiopians*, *Turks*, *Jews* or *Infidels*, they ſhou'd all be welcome to my Embraces; they ſhou'd all bask under my kind Comprehenſion if they wou'd pay down the Ready, and own me to be their Supreme Head, by tend'ring ſome acknowledging Pence. A good round Sum won'd reconcile me to any ſort of People whatſover: But

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I renounce all thoſe Nations for Caſt-a-ways, I cut 'em off abſolutely from all Communion with us, who are cloſe-fiſted, and will not contribute.

*Pet.* What muſt all be Tributary to you? muſt the See of *Rome* be as it were the Granary of the whole World?

*Jul.* And why not I pray? a great Matter truly, *for us to reap ſome* Temporal *Things from all Nations, when we ſow to all Nations* Spiritual *Things!*

*Pet.* What Spiritual Things do you mean? not a Word has been mention'd hitherto of any thing, but what was deeply tinctur'd with the World. If your ſacred Doctrines, either by Writing or Preaching, have been inſtrumental in making Additions to the Number of the ſav'd, then I crave your Pardon; but if I well remember, you told me at firſt how little you were at leiſure to attend ſuch Employments.

*Jul.* True, and ſo I tell you again, that was none of my Buſineſs. Let others write their Eyes out, or preach their Lungs out if they pleaſe, ſo that they advance nothing but what tends to the Honour and Grandeur of the Pope.

*Pet.* Pray tell me then, which way cou'd you pretend to be ſuch a Sower of Spirituals to People?

*Jul.* Which way? Every manner of way. Whatever was perform'd by others, paſs'd in my Name; I reckon'd all their Performances as mine, and I was reſolv'd to be paid for 'em. Is it not a common thing, for Lords to lay claim to the Benefit of the Actions of their Vaſſals; for Maſter-Workmen to appropriate the Labours of their Under-Operators to themſelves; and for Generals to be rewarded for the Exploits of their Soldiers? In like manner, whatſoever Soul-ſaving Works are diſſeminated in any part of our Dominions, muſt all be aſcrib'd to the Pontiff, tho' he never was acceſſary to one ſingle good Action in that way in all his Life. But, beſides the general Right which I have to ſome of the

the Wool of the univerſal Flock, as being Supreme Paſtor, it cannot be denied, but that we Popes in our particular Perſons are very ſignally conducing to the Spiritual Advantage of Thouſands in our way of Buſineſs; that is to ſay, by ſelling our Indulgences for puny Sins for a ſmall Conſideration; and Diſpenſations and Pardons for the moſt damnable Iniquities at a reaſonable Price, as low as can modeſtly be expected. As alſo we ſcatter our Apoſtolical Benedictions amongſt the Crowd freely; thoſe we give away *Gratis* to all Comers and Goers, as Venereal Doctors do their Bills of Advertiſement.

*Pet.* I muſt confeſs I am not thoroughly acquainted with the Spiritual Advantage of ſuch Matters. Bleſſing of People indeed, which is an Ancient, Pious and Laudable Cuſtom, by your groſs Manner of practiſing it, ſeems to me to be enervated, and render'd rather Profane than Beneficial. Your other Things are perfect Impoſitions. But to return to what we were talking about. What is the reaſon that your Majeſtick Holineſs ſo implacably abhor'd theſe Barbarians (as you call 'em) that you choſe rather to turn the World upſide down, than not remove them out of *Italy*?

*Jul.* I'll tell you. The Barbarians are ſomething too Pragmatical, I cou'd not be eaſy whilſt they were amongſt us; in ſhort, their Neighbourhood was an horrid Offence to me, I cou'd not bear them any longer.

*Pet.* Were they Idolatrous, or very Irreligious?

*Jul.* Nothing at all of that; they were rather too ſolicitous about Religion, and ſpent too much Time that way. But they were always finding fault with, and cenſuring our Methods; and bawling out old antiquated Words in our Ears, ſuch as Simony, Sodomy, Perjury, and the like, that we cou'd not be quiet for 'em.

*Pet.* Words do you call them! I think they are Deeds as well as Words, and very deteſtable into the

the Bargain. Sure 'tis not poſſible for any ſuch Things to be practiſed in any part of the Chriſtian World.

*Jul.* Yes, yes, 'tis poſſible enough, I experimentally aſſure you; But what is that to theſe Barbarians? muſt they concern themſelves about our Failings (if they may be ſo call'd)? Marry! they all have their Vices peculiar to themſelves, tho' not juſt the ſame with ours. And as they hug their own Sins, and damn ours; ſo on the other ſide, we ſtick cloſe to our favourite Inclinations, and execrate theirs. As for Inſtance; we diſcountenance habitual Drunkenneſs, and look upon a Perſon addicted thereto as a Beaſt; whereas ſome Nations account it an Offence of the loweſt Magnitude. Nay, they will ſcarce allow it to be a Tranſgreſſion, but call it good Fellowſhip. They, and moſt other of the Barbarians abominate Sodomites and Pathicks as the moſt corrupt, defil'd Monſters upon the Face of the Earth. If the very Name of thoſe Exerciſes is but mention'd, they'd be frighted out of their Wits, and think the whole Atmoſphere wou'd be polluted with the bare Pronunciation: But alas, we are quite of another Opinion, and allow of thoſe particular Refreſhments of the Body. So likewiſe for Simony, an old out-of-faſhion Name, that has not had a Being in the World for many Ages; they ſtartle at the Word, as they wou'd do at the meeting of an Apparition, and make a wonderful ſplutter againſt ſuch Tradings. But our Sentiments are quite otherwiſe. We find Simony (as Fools call it) to be very neceſſary for the flouriſhing of the Church. There are abundance more of ſuch kind of Ways and Cuſtoms, wherein we widely differ from the barbarous Crew; ſo that ſince we can't ſet our Horſes together, nor be of the ſame Opinion, it is highly convenient to drive them further of, and keep 'em aloof from our Myſteries, of which the more ignorant they remain, the more they will revere them.

them. But ſoon as e're they are let into the Secrets of our Court, preſently with full Cry, like a Pack of deep-mouth'd Dogs, they yelp them out. Racks, Torments, Gibbets, Plagues and Famines ſeize 'em, they are Lyncean-ey'd to ſpy out any thing to cavil againſt, and quick-ſcented to ſmell out our cloſe acted Affairs. With Pleaſure they diſperſe their virulent Invectives and malicious Remarks, calling our Holy See the very Metropolis of the Devil's Kingdom, rather than the Seat of Chriſt's Repreſentative. They raiſe Scruples, and pretend to make it a diſputable Queſtion, whether I am to be acknowledg'd as Supreme Prelate, becauſe, forſooth, of the indirect Methods of my climbing into, and my flagitious Courſe of Living in that ſacred and elevated Office. Thus, theſe barbarous Varlets leſſen our Credit and profound Eſteem with Strangers, and thereby weaken our deſpotick Authority; cauſing all Foreigners to look askew upon us, who before thought nothing to the contrary, but that Popes were Angels in Humane Shape, that they cou'd command Earth and Heaven; nay, that they were ſcarce one degree inferiour to the Almighty. By this Means it comes to paſs, that all thoſe Springs of Wealth are in danger of being dried up, by which I maintain my Royal Port, and by which all our Religious Orders are enrich'd and fed up in ſoft Eaſe and Luxury. Thus intolerably is the Church damnified, few Diſpenſations and Pardons are ſold of, and thoſe at a poor under Rate. Nor can we turn the Penny near ſo gainfully in trucking for Cardinalſhips, Biſhopricks, Abbies and Benefices; Trade goes very dull in relation to our Commodities, and all upon the account of theſe ill-diſpos'd Meddlers. When Taxes are required, they come heavily; and they deliver up their Purſes to us, as grudgingly as they would to a High-way Man. And as their leſs awful Thoughts of our Power ſpoil the Markets, ſo does it rebate the edge of our Threatnings;

nings; and when once they arrive to that pitch of Impudence, as to laugh at the Thunder of our Excommunications, and to affirm that the Denunciations of a wicked Pope don't ſignify a Farthing, his Infallible Majeſty will be in a poor Condition, next Door to famiſhing. All this, I ſay, would be the diſmal Conſequence of the Barbarians Vicinity to us; but when they are kept at a diſtance, there is no danger of our falling thus low in their Eſteem; becauſe not having the Opportunities of prying into our Concerns, they are not acquainted with the Steps we take, and the Lengths we run; ſo that they look on us with reverential Regard, and think us moſt Holy Fathers, as they call us; which I am afraid they wou'd never do if they knew all.

*Pet.* I think 'tis not very much for the Reputation of you Popes, when your Apoſtolical Authority depends upon the Concealment of your Lives and Converſation, and that as ſoon as ever you are thoroughly known, you are deſpis'd. When I and my Companions ſojourn'd on Earth, we deſir'd nothing more than to have our moſt ſecret Actions expos'd to the Knowledge of all Mankind; we fear'd no Witneſſes of what we did, being ſatisfied that the more the People knew of us, the more we ſhou'd gain upon their Affections, and win them over to a Compliance with the Goſpel. But I want to be inform'd in one particular, that is, how comes it to paſs that Princes pay ſuch a blind Obedience now-a-days to one ſingle Prelate, (and that none of the beſt) as to ſet themſelves in Battle Array one againſt another thro' his Inſtigation alone? Are they ſo religiouſly diſpos'd as to think themſelves oblig'd to do juſt as he bids them, and are they afraid to diſpleaſe him? I am ſure, in my Time, we were ſo far from having ſuch influence over crown'd Heads, that they were our moſt inveterate Adverſaries, and wou'd ſcarce be rul'd by us in any Thing, tho' never ſo juſt and reaſonable.

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*Jul.* Cuſtoms and Faſhions are bravely alter'd and mended ſince your Days; Popes have had a glorious Time on't for ſome Ages, and carried it with a high Hand over Kings and Potentates, who were entirely at the Pontifical Beck; inſomuch that the Pope cou'd ſet 'em together by the Ears when he thought fit; and if his Commands were not obey'd by any obſtinate rebellious Sovereign, his Dominions preſently were given away, and my Gentleman was handſomely depos'd. But now I confeſs the Papal Authority begins to ſink; Princes will not now like Noſes of Wax yield to all our Motions. The Reſpect and Obedience which they pay to the Triple Crown now-a-days, is more owing to the Politeneſs of their Education, and to ceremonial Forms, than to any Impreſſions of Religion. They value us no more than Hobby-horſes in their inward Sentiments, tho' they ſeemingly compliment us with frequent Tenders of Filial Carriage. With the ſame courteous Deportment we behave ourſelves towards them from the Teeth outward; but this is perfect Grimace on both Sides. Thus, for Example, we inveſt them with glorious Titles, tho' they may very little deſerve 'em; calling one his Catholick Majeſty, another his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. And giving them all in general the endearing Compellation of Sons. They on the other ſide call us Moſt Holy Father, and proſtrate themſelves when they are in a good Humour to kiſs our Feet; and in Matters of no great Importance, they will give way ſometimes to our Demands, and ſeem to be directed by us, on purpoſe to eſtabliſh among the Vulgar a Reputation of being religious and devout. Nay, we act the Farce a little more to the Life, and proceed ev'n to the ſending of Preſents to one another. We ſend them conſecrated Maſs-books, Swords, Coronets, Caps and ſuch like Toys, and confirm their Titles to their Kingdoms with Bulls, almoſt of an Acre Extent of Parchment. They by way of Retribution ſend to us round Sums of Mo-

ney, fine Horſes, well arm'd Soldiers, and ſometimes handſome ſmug Youths, being not ignorant of our Inclinations. Such apparent mutual good Offices are frequently exchang'd betwixt us, like two Aſſes ſcratching one another. But in their Hearts they really think our Power very trifling and inſignificant, and will be rul'd by us no longer than they think fit; they are our humble Servants, but yet they will do what they pleaſe.

*Pet.* If Kings and Princes have ſo little real Regard for Popes, how cou'd you work upon them ſo effectually, as to puſh them on to break thro' all ſolemn Leagues and Alliances, and to fall foul one upon another? I can't imagine how they were ſo infatuated, as to hearken to you.

*Jul.* That, indeed, was a Maſter-piece of Wit and Stratagem, ſuch as you heavy Apoſtles cou'd never attain to. 'Twould be not only too tedious to acquaint you with all my Subtilties in managing thoſe Princes, but alſo too abſtruſe for your hearing; you not being Politician enough, I doubt, to apprehend Narratives of that kind. But that you may in ſome ſmall Meaſure be ſenſible of my conſummate Parts, and admire me for the ſame, I ſhall juſt give you a taſte of my Dexterity.

*Pet.* I'll endeavour to give a proper Attention.

*Jul.* The firſt and fundamental Leſſon which I had to learn, was to have an inſight into the Inclinations, Morals, Wealth, Abilities, Pretenſions and Deſigns of all Nations, but more eſpecially the *European*; to know who and who were together, and who wiſh'd one another at the Devil. Being thoroughly vers'd in this Point, I made a moſt ingenious uſe of this Knowledge. I ſet the *French* againſt the *Venetians* in the firſt place; I made the *Emperor* a Party concern'd in the ſame War likewiſe, by patching up an Alliance betwixt him and the *French* for that Time. After the *Venetians* had been well bang'd, and I had got of them what I wanted, then I ſeemingly was reconcil'd

to

to 'em, and offer'd my Service to aſſiſt 'em againſt the *French*, to revenge the Havock he had made amongſt them. For you muſt know I was not willing the King of *France* ſhou'd purſue his Victories too far, and grow too great, therefore I was reſolv'd to give a Check to this Conqueror; which I perform'd not only by making a Property of the *Venetians* for that End, but alſo by involving the King of *Spain* in a War againſt the *French*. Which laſt Contrivance, by the by, was a Maſterpiece of mine; and you can't but be ſurpriz'd at my Wit, and the lucky Event of that particular Tranſaction. The King of *Spain* was at the ſame time fighting with an incredible Torrent of good Succeſs againſt the *Turks*; what did I do, but with my wheedling and exaſperating Letters diverted my Catholick Majeſty's Career, ſo that to the Amazement of all Mankind, and the great Joy of the Infidels, he turns his whole Armament againſt the *French*. People thought he was bewitch'd, not knowing my Head-piece was the main Spring of this unaccountable Motion. Nor did I ſuffer the Emperor to lie idle. For tho' I had a little before link'd him with the *French*, yet I ſoon made a Breach betwixt him and his old Friend *Lewis*, and run them one at another. In a Word, I made a perfect Game of Cheſs of my Monarchs, moving them and playing them juſt as I pleas'd. When I perceiv'd any one to gain greater Advantages than I thought fit, I clandeſtinely ſtrengthned the weaker Side with pecuniary Supplies, or rais'd up a freſh Adverſary to buffet the ſtronger. Thus did I work upon all my plyable dear Sons. *Great-Britain* only was out of the Sphere of my Activity. Thoſe peſtilent Northern Hereticks began to withdraw their Obedience from the Holy See in my Time, and abjure our Supremacy. They are a moſt horrid Brood, Hell and Furies take 'em! They will I am afraid foſter an inextinguiſhable Averſion, and prove everlaſting Rebels againſt *Rome*'s moſt Holy Father. I hope ſome of my Succeſſors will totally extir-

pate that curſed Fry by a general Maſſacre. I hope they'll kill all, the quickeſt Method to convert 'em; raviſh the Wives, daſh out the pois'nous Brains of each young Proteſtant Viper at the Breaſt; rip up the Matrons, burn all the hated Waſps in their Hives; make Candles of their Fat, if any are corpulent and groſs. O, how ſweetly will they burn, inſtead of common Tapers, before the ſacred Shrines of our *Romiſh* Saints and Worthies; They wou'd with Pleaſure look down, and eagerly ſnuff up ſuch grateful Incenſe. But tho' this wou'd be a meritorious Performance, yet they muſt have patience, and ſtay till it is practicable, none being oblig'd to do Impoſſibilities. The ſacred *Lateran* Council binds us to ſacrifice heretical Kings and Princes, and waſte their curs'd Land with Sword and Fire; but wiſely adds, 'tis only when we are ſtrongeſt; for Hands muſt be able, as well as Hearts willing. In the mean time till this can be effected, they muſt endeavour to diſunite 'em, by ſending our Emiſſaries to broach new fangl'd Puritanical Religions, and ſetting them at variance among themſelves; by this Method they in Time may be crumbl'd into Atoms, but if they continue unanimous, no Mortal can hurt 'em; their Diviſion therefore muſt neceſſarily be antecedent to their Deſtruction. This I hope will be experimented ſome Time or other. As for me, I am ſatisfied, I play'd my Part ſufficiently, in creating Hoſtilities every where as much as poſſibly I cou'd; and 'tis an exceeding great Comfort to me, that I left moſt of the Chriſtian Princes very buſy in hacking and hewing one another with more Fury than ever they cou'd be wrought upon to exert againſt the Mahometans, thoſe common Enemies of Chriſtendom.

*Pet.* A very pious Satisfaction truly, to think how like a publick Incendiary you have kindl'd ſuch Wars, as may poſſibly reach thro' the whole World before they are extinguiſh'd.

*Jul.* Let 'em rage on to Eternity, provided the Pope is no Looſer. For which dear Self-preſervation I carried the War into the Barbarians Country, as remote from *Italy* as I cou'd; which being effected, let 'em fight Dog, fight Bear, till they have worried one another to the laſt Man on both Sides. This will make us rare Sport, and give us endleſs Years of Laughter, beſides the Advantage we ſhall make of their Folly, and the general Conflagration, which is always the beſt Seaſon for Pillage and Plunder.

*Pet.* Do theſe Things become the Character of an Apoſtolick Paſtor, an Holy Father, and Chriſt's Vicar, as you term yourſelf?

*Jul.* They may thank themſelves. Why did they begin to provoke me with their Schiſmatical Council?

*Pet.* If they had committed an Error in that Point, yet ſtill Forbearance had been much more proper, conſidering how notoriouſly the Remedy was more deſtructive than the Diſeaſe. But all this might have been prevented, if you, according to the Obligations of Honour, Conſcience, and the ſacred Oath taken at your Inauguration, had permitted a Council to be conven'd.

*Jul.* Bate an Ace there. I am ſure the Remedy had then been worſe than the Diſeaſe. Convene a Council! I had rather every drop of Chriſtian Blood had been ſpilt firſt. That wou'd have been a comical Fancy, and have demonſtrated me an Ignoramus. What bring a Multitude together to prove me a Simoniacal Merchandizer in Spirituals, to rip up all the Tranſactions of my Life, and lay me open to the whole World. The Conſequence of which might have unchair'd me; and have reduc'd me to the common State of Fallibility. Had I done ſo, I know who had been the Fool.

*Pet.* If the Decrees of a Council had turn'd ſo much to your diſadvantage, yet if you had been poſſeſt with the true and genuine Spirit of Chriſtianity, as a Supreme Paſtor ought to be, you

wou'd have ſacrific'd all your worldly Glory for the publick Good, and not have involv'd the Chriſtian World in ſo many Calamities. Tho' I muſt be ſo free as to tell you, that had you been depos'd, they had done you no great Injuſtice; ſince your Entrance into that elevated Office was not by the right Door, but (as far as I can learn) *like a Thief and a Robber*, you did climb thereinto by the moſt deteſtable Ways and pernicious Aſſiſtance of others. From whence I can't forbear making this Obſervation, that by the Divine Permiſſion you became a Plague to the *French*, as a juſt Retalliation to their King for his being inſtrumental in the promoting ſuch a peſtilent Miſcreant as you were to the univerſal Paſtorſhip of the Church of Chriſt. 'Twas meet that he ſhou'd be tormented by that Brazen Bull, of which he had been the firſt Contriver.

*Jul.* Zounds! this is unſufferable. By my Triple Crown, by all my glorious Triumphs, I ſwear and proteſt, if you irritate me after this Manner, I'll make you know who it is you ſpeak to.

*Pet.* Delirious Wretch! But keep your Temper a little longer, and let me know ſomething more of the excellent Diſcharge of your Office. I can hardly yet form in my Mind the leaſt Idea of your being an Eccleſiaſtick. What you have hitherto related of yourſelf, ſavours more of the General than the Prelate; you have given me the Deſcription and Portraiture of a downright Worldling, or ſomething more low ſunk in the Dregs of Irreligion, an Heathen, and ten times worſe. You boaſt of your Machiavelian Penetration into Political Affairs, your Facility of quaſhing Alliances, and ſetting Nations together to imbrue their Hands in Chriſtian Gore; but this is rather the Talent of the Devil than a Divine. He that aſſumes to himſelf the Title of Chriſt's Vice-gerent commits a ſtrange Soleciſm, if he does not tread in the Steps of his Heavenly Maſter as near as he can. 'Tis true, all Power both in Heaven and Earth was com-

committed to him; but yet this infinite Power was join'd with infinite Goodneſs; his Wiſdom was fathomleſs, yet pure and peaceable. Whereas the Power that you vaunt of, and Wit (if you ever had any) was nothing but a Compound of the very Quinteſſence of Impiety, Rancour, Pride and Cruelty. So that were Satan the Prince of Wickedneſs to chuſe a Prime Miniſter or Surrogate, he cou'd not fix upon a more proper than yourſelf, or one of the ſame Stamp. Pray give me one ſingle Inſtance, if you can, wherein you acted like a true Apoſtolical Prelate?

*Jul.* Do you make a Queſtion of that? Pray what can be more Apoſtolical, than to advance the Church?

*Pet.* Nothing that I knew of. It was the very Work of myſelf and the reſt of the Apoſtles, to uſe all our Endeavours (aſſiſted by our Head and univerſal Governor Jeſus Chriſt) to increaſe the Multitudes of them that believ'd, and thereby make daily Additions to the Church. For (as I conceive) by the Name of Church, was underſtood in our Days, an Aggregation of many Perſons, many Congregations, many ſeveral Churches, built on the ſame Foundation, profeſſing the ſame Faith, receiving the ſame Sacraments, the Signs and Badges of Chriſtianity, not limited to one People, confin'd to one Nation, but diſpers'd thro' the diſtant and divided Parts of the World, all which Millions of Perſons are united into one Body, under one Head, and become one Church. Even as an Houſe built upon one Foundation, tho' conſiſting of many Rooms, and every Room of many Stones, it is not yet many, but one Houſe. Now to be advantageous to this Holy Society, is, not to deviate from Apoſtolical Doctrine, to communicate with all good Chriſtians as Occaſion ſhall be; to maintain a good Correſpondence and Concord, with an hearty Charity and Affection to them; to preſerve the Peace and endeavour the Welfare of that Part of it wherein we are moſt

concern'd, and of which the moſt particular Benefit is committed to our Charge. If the right State of the Matter is thus, methinks inſtead of ſo mightily advancing the Proſperity of this collective Body, you rather ſubverted the ſame, by embaraſſing its Members ſo fatally in warlike Engagements, that they had not leaſure to make their proper Animadverſions upon the Turpitude of your Life, and proceed againſt you as they ought. If my Suppoſitions, I ſay, concerning the Church and its true Advantage be right, then are you in the wrong. But perhaps my Notion of theſe Things may not exactly coincide with yours; therefore I ſhall be glad, before we proceed any farther, to be inform'd what you mean by the Church, to which, you ſay, you made ſuch notable Acceſſions.

*Jul.* I perceive you ſtand very much in need of Inſtruction; and therefore, in order to prevent any more of your impertinent Queries, I'll clear up your Underſtanding, if it is to be done, by laying before you my Definition of the Church, and my infallible Opinion of what conduces to its Luſtre and Enlargement. By the Church, then, I mean the real Structures of the Temples themſelves, the Religious Houſes; the Cardinals, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Prieſts, Monks and Friars; the Court of *Rome*, the Pope, the viſible Supreme Head of all, together with the Congregation of all thoſe who without Scruple profeſs whatſoever Faith the Pope preſcribes to them, and in all Things are ready to pay an exact Obedience to him.

*Pet.* Your Definition in my Mind had been more juſt, if you had excluded the Walls of the Church from being incorporated into the Church of Chriſt; and, inſtead of ſuch unſuitable Members, have included a few more Chriſtians, tho' they were ſo unhappy as to be utter Strangers to the Biſhop of *Rome*, or to diſown his Supremacy. But I long to know how you increas'd the Church's Benefit and Glory.

*Jul.* Ay, now you come to the Point, and I'll ſoon ſatisfy you. That poor Hunger-ſtarv'd, beggarly Primitive Church as was, is now become ſo glorioufly adorn'd.

*Pet.* With a more vigorous Faith, I ſuppoſe, a more ſeraphick Love of God, and a nobler Degree of Charity towards all Mankind.

*Jul.* Pſhaw! You murder my Ears with your Nonſenſe.

*Pet.* It may be then with a Contempt of the World, with all its Pomps and Vanities.

*Jul.* Nothing at all of the matter: You won't hear me. I mean with true maſſy ſubſtantial Ornaments, not ſuch Trumpery as your idle Conjectures interrupt me with.

*Pet.* Pray what can theſe ſignal Embelliſhments be?

*Jul.* What! Why magnificent Palaces, rich Chariots, fine Equeries, Gold and Purple, ſplendid Attendants, well diſciplin'd Guards, arm'd Cap-a-pe.

*Gen.* Salacious handſome Strumpets, pliant and obſequious Pimps and Panders.

*Jul.* We have brought to the Church the Opulence of both *Indies*, with large Tributes, Exciſes and Cuſtoms: So that not a Crown'd Head in the Univerſe makes half the Figure, Noiſe and Buſtle in the World as the Pope does; They are all mean and deſpicable Things, if compared to him. The moſt haughty and ambitious of 'em all, nay tho' he were proud as *Lucifer*, wou'd think it no Diſparagement to him to pay Homage to us. Our magnificent Expences wou'd make all others appear little and ſordid: *Cræſus* himſelf, were he alive, as rich as he was, might look with Wonder and Envy at our ſuperior Wealth. Theſe are ſome of the noble Graces with which the Church is now bedeck'd; and theſe are in a great meaſure owing to my Activity, who ſpent my whole Time and Concern in ſecuring theſe Bleſſings, and making conſiderable Augmentations.

*Pet.*

*Pet.* Can you tell me who was the first that loaded Ecclesiasticks with these Superfluities?

*Jul.* What's that to the Purpose? We are in Possession of these Superfluities, as you call 'em: We have them, and hold them; how we first came by them, is not worth enquiring into. But (to humour your Inquisitiveness a little) if you will believe what some relate, 'tis said that *Constantine* was the first Aggrandizer of the Bishop of *Rome*, by making of Regal Presents to him, and even transferring his Empire to that See by a generous Surrender of it from himself.

*Pet.* It may be only a Story.

*Jul.* So I am inclin'd to think, if I may judge of others by myself; for I truly wou'd have seen my own Father, or the best Friend I had, at the Devil, before I wou'd have done the like.

*Gen.* That is true enough.

*Pet.* If it were true, that he did as 'tis reported, and that with a Religious Intention; yet are such things altogether foreign to the true Ornaments of the Church, which Christ design'd shou'd be for ever spotless and clear from all the contagious Vanities and Embarrassments of the World: But the Vein of your Talk has ran so totally upon Worldly Affairs and Acquisitions, that I can't be convinc'd of your being beneficial to the Church, whose Welfare and Glory are so diametrically opposite to things of that Nature.

*Jul.* What, I warrant, you are dreaming of the Days of Yore, and are for reviving that stale superannuated Church which you, with some other Hunger-starv'd meagre Bishops, did preside over; and when you made a poor Figure of a Supreme Governor, being harrast with laborious Toils, and tramping from one Place to another like Foot-Soldiers: But, — *Tempora mutantur*, & *nos mutamur in illis* — Your Church-Government is too dull and melancholy for the Gayety of this spruce and more accomplish'd Age. The Bishop of *Rome* is quite another-guess Person, than what he was in your Days. Alas!

Alas! you was but a meer Shadow of a Metropolitan, and did not know the Extent of your univerſal Power. You was dignified with a Title 'tis true, but 'twas a very barren one, and ſeparate from all Splendor and Emoluments. And, like yourſelf, were all things pertaining to the Eccleſiaſtick Corporation then equally deſpicable, whether Temples, Prieſts or Preferments. How wou'd you gape and ſtare to behold the coſtly Decorations of our Temples, the Marble Pavements, Roofs ſupported with various Rows of Pillars, gilt and figur'd with beautiful Artifice, and the ſumptuous Palaces of ſome Eccleſiaſticks; ſeveral thouſands of the Clergy dignified with fat Benefices; the Multitudes of Biſhops not inferior to Kings in Wealth and Power? Eſpecially, were you to behold at our Metropolitan City *Rome*, the gallant Show of Cardinals array'd in Purple-Robes, ſurrounded with Legions of their Retinue, with their champing foaming Steeds, and choice Mules, trap'd and accouter'd with fine Emboſſments, brocaded Velvets, Gold and Jewels, ſome of them prancing ev'n with Shoes of Silver and Gold; I ſay, after the Sight of ſuch a bleſſed Alteration of Sacred Poſſeſſions, Places, Things and Perſons, what a Loathing wou'd the Remembrance your Primitive Shabbineſs in all theſe Matters create in you? But then, what a reptile Worm of a Biſhop wou'd you conceive yourſelf to have been in compariſon of a *Roman* High-Prieſt of the modern Ages, if you were to ſee (what has been frequently done) Emperors, Kings and Princes, with Proſtration, kiſſing the Pontifical Toe, and who thought it an Honour to have their Crowns plac'd on their Heads by his Holy Feet? If you had been an Eye-witneſs of this Scene of State, what wou'd you have ſaid then?

*Pet.* Then I ſhou'd have ſaid, that I had ſeen a bloated, proud, worldly-minded, tyrannical Caitiff, a complete Anti-Chriſt, and Bane of the Church.

*Jul.* You'd change your Tune, and cry *Peccavi*, if you had ſeen any one of my triumphal Proceſſions; either that when I took Poſſeſſion of *Bononia*, or that which I exhibited at *Rome* after my Conqueſt of the *Venetians*; or my Triumph after I had routed the *French* at *Ravenna* beyond all Expectation. Had you beheld my numerous and warlike Train with Enſigns diſplay'd, my Captains and Generals in their Regimental Embelliſhments, the ſurprizing Collection of my beautiful Pages, the Splendor of my Entertainments, the Trophies, Banners, and rich Booties taken from the Enemies; Had you heard the Diſcharges of my Cannon, venting their ſaluting Thunder, the Martial Noiſe of Drums, Kettle-drums, and ſhrill Trumpets rattling in the Sky; the Exploſion of Artificial Fireworks, accompanied with innumerable Illuminations; Had you ſeen my ſcattering Medals of Silver and Gold among the Crowds, which were ſtruck in Honour of my Conqueſts; Had you heard the Huzza's, and re-eccho-ing Shouts of the People, who, perfectly wild in their Applauſe, ſeem'd to rend the very Clouds with their Vollies of Acclamations: Then, for the Glory of all, to ſee me the Oecumenical Patriarch, the viſible Head and Monarch of the Church Catholick, and the Diſpoſer of Empires; the firſt and grand Wheel of all this Motion, the Life and Soul of the whole Pomp and Triumph; to have ſeen me, I ſay, in my full Career of Splendor, mounted aloft in a Chair of State, carried upon the Shoulders of Gentlemen, all the Throng gazing upon me as a Deity condeſcending to viſit them in human Shape; who, rapt with Extaſies, ſtrove with Hands, Eyes, Lips, and ev'ry Geſture, to ſhew their utmoſt Obedience; and if I did but ſtir a Finger, were all ready to proſtrate themſelves by way of Adoration. O, had you beheld all this, you'd for ever after have ſcorn'd all the triumphing *Alexanders*, *Scipio's* and *Ceſars*, and eſteem'd them as Scoundrels and Paltroons in compariſon of myſelf! A thouſand more glorious Paſſages I cou'd———

*Pet,*

*Pet.* Hold, enough, enough of Feats of Arms and Ovations, thou boasting Wretch! Those Heathens which you mention'd were much the better Men, nay Saints in comparison of you. They had only the Law of Nature to direct them, and therefore are the more excusable; but that you, who have had the Advantage of the express Precepts, and the most powerful Motives of Christianity, shou'd inhumanly celebrate your Triumphs when Thousands of poor Christians had welter'd in their Gore on your account: That you, who pretend to the Appellation of Most Holy Father, shou'd, like a cursed *Apollyon*, be Author of the Devastation of whole Countries; That you, who call yourself Christ's sole Vicar on Earth, shou'd neither by your Life or Doctrine be instrumental in winning so much as one single Soul to your Master, is the greatest Aggravation of Wickedness; no Sins being so flagrant as those which are committed directly against Mens Professions. Thus, for a Steward to be a Thief, for a Physician to be a Murderer, for an Ambassador trusted with the Affairs of his Prince to be a Traytor, are Crimes of greater Infamy in them than in another. How then can the Impieties of an elevated Ecclesiastick but be above all others by so much the worst, by how much his Calling is above all others the best, and his Station the most conspicuous? Surely I scarce know what to call him who hath, of a Minister, thus transform'd himself into a Monster. He is not a Star in Christ's Right-hand, but in the Dragon's Tail; which drew many from Heaven, and cast them down upon the Earth. He is among the Prophets the *Simeon* rightly call'd *Niger*, not for his Complexion, but for his Conversation. He is, in the House and Temple of God, not as the Priests which did bear the Ark, but as the Beasts which drew it and shook it. O the unnatural Contrariety betwixt you and the blessed Jesus! whose inexpressible Love and Compassion mov'd him to give himself to be a Sacrifice to put

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all Mankind into a Capacity of Salvation, whilſt you, to gratify your own ſingle, barbarous and peſtilent Self, involv'd whole Nations in Miſery and Deſtruction.

*Jul.* You will never leave ſnarling; but I well know the Reaſon of all this Cant; 'tis meer Envy, and repining at the glorious Figure I made, and a gnaſhing Vexation to be told how much my Prelatical Luſtre tranſcended yours.

*Pet.* Graceleſs Impudence! dare you oppoſe your worthleſs, fluſtring Spectacles to my ſubſtantial Glory? Tho' whatever Honour accru'd to me, I aſcrib'd it all to my Great Maſter, and not to myſelf. If ever it was expedient to Glory, if ever there was room for godly Boaſting, I think I may lay claim to it, who was honour'd with the moſt endearing Favours by the Lord and Saviour of the World. If you have the Modeſty to allow Jeſus Chriſt to be the true Holy Supreme Head of his Church, then muſt you of neceſſity admit my Glory to outſhine your Earthly Vapours, your *Ignes Fatui*. For he himſelf deliver'd the Power of the Keys of his Kingdom into my cuſtody; which Power, tho' it was to be extended to all the Apoſtles, and after them to all the Governors of the Church equally, yet I was ſingled out to be their Repreſentative; which was a diſtinguiſhing Choice not to be undervalued. He likewiſe with his own Mouth entruſted his Sheep to my Feeding; and he himſelf gave an honourable Teſtimony of my Faith. Whereas, Money, Frauds, and the joint Aſſiſtances of ill-deſigning People made you a Primate, which indeed is a Title too good for one ſo ſcandalouſly elected. I, by the Divine Permiſſion, gain'd over many Souls to Chriſt, ev'n three Thouſand being converted by me in one Day; you by your nefarious Morals and Practices have ruin'd as many, and a hundred times more. I firſt turn'd *Rome* from Heatheniſm to Chriſtianity; but you have revers'd my Labours,

and

and almoſt reduc'd it to its priſtine Paganiſm. I, by the Almighty Concurrence, *even with the Shadow of my tranſient Body, gave eaſe to the Sick; I reliev'd thoſe who were poſſeſt with Devils, reſtor'd the Dead to Life*, and was a common Good, an univerſal Bleſſing wherever I went; but I ſuppoſe no ſuch miraculous Operations attended your noiſy Triumphs. I was by my Maſter inveſted with great Power upon all Occaſions; yet however I exercis'd it, I conſtantly aim'd at the Glory of God, and the general Benefit of all Chriſtian Profeſſors. But you, like an Epidemical Plague, have ſpread a mortal Contagion far and near; by your Care and Induſtry the Devil's Work has been carried on very plentifully. One wou'd think indeed, by your indefatigable Agency for Satan, that you was reſolv'd to propagate as much Impiety as poſſibly you cou'd in a ſhort Time; as if you thought to be ſav'd by Vices rather than by Virtues, or as if you thought Hell a better Place than Heaven, and was in love with everlaſting Damnation.

*Jul.* You have made a fine Speech truly in Commendation of yourſelf; and when your Hand was in, I wonder you did not reckon your Poverty, Trudging about, your Flouts and Floggings, your Bonds and Incarcerations, and laſtly your Crucifixion, among your Badges of Honour.

*Pet.* 'Tis true; your Hint is very juſt. For Suffering in a good Cauſe is real Matter of Glory, and the more Indignities and Torments we undergo, the more honourable we ought to eſteem ourſelves. Our Saviour, who underſtood the Baſis of ſolid Worth and Joy beſt of any, bad us rejoice and be exceeding glad when we ſuffer'd the Rage of Perſecution for the ſake of Righteouſneſs, pronouncing ſuch Paſſive Diſciples to be ſuperlatively Happy. So that we had all the reaſon in the World to triumph when we were moſt diſgrac'd, ſince every Affliction added a Jewel to our Crown, and render'd our Reward more bright and ponderous.

rous. The Hopes of which were enough to change a Dungeon into a Throne, and Racks, Torments and Gibbets, into Thrones of Honour, and Beds of Roſes. Thus, *Paul* my Collegue, when he recapitulates his Exploits as redounding to his Eſtimation, he makes no mention of Cities taken by Siege or Storm, or of Armies put to the Sword, of creating Animoſities amongſt Princes, of his advanc'd Station in the Church, and of an univerſal Adoration of his Perſon. He kept at the greateſt diſtance from Gloriations of that kind; but with an holy Pride commemorates his Stripes, Whippings, Shipwrecks, wearifome and painful Journeys, Perils of all ſorts, Bonds, reviling Speeches, and treacherous Attempts againſt him. This was a right Apoſtolical Triumph, and a juſt Foundation for a Panegyrick. Like a true Chriſtian General, he applauds himſelf in the Multitudes he has recover'd from their Infidelity, not in the Millions of Ducats that he has enrich'd his Treaſury with. And as our Lives and yours were widely different, ſo is our preſent Condition, and will be for ever. We are now not only celebrating an everlaſting Jubilee in the Regions of Bliſs, but our very Names are alſo reſpected on Earth, not only by the good, but even by the worſt of Men. All riſe up at the mention of us, *and call us bleſſed*; the Kings of the World have ſuch a venerable Regard for us, tho' we originally were poor Fiſhermen and Tent-makers, as to ſet apart Anniverſary Days to perpetuate our Memories. Whilſt you, beſides your Excluſion from Celeſtial Happineſs, leave a moſt odious putrified Reputation behind you; whenever you are ſpoken of, it will be with the utmoſt Abhorrence and Execration; and if your Name ſhou'd be tranſmitted to Poſterity in Hiſtory or Paſquil Dialogues (as I am apt to think it will) certainly it will be with Contempt and Infamy.

*Jul.* Are you ſo good at Divination? pray what ground have you for your babbling Predictions? if you are a Conjurer, 'tis more than ever I took you for.

*Pet.* What I ſay, owes not its Veracity to Magick Art I'll aſſure you, but to the Divine Oracles; to conſult which you wou'd not allow yourſelf any vacant Hours. You was too much incumber'd in National Buſtles, ſending of your Legates and Nuncio's up and down; you cou'd not bear ſo long a Ceſſation of Arms, ſo as to mind the Great Concern of Man. Your whole Buſineſs was to climb as high in the World as your Avarice and Ambition prompted you; to immerſe and plunge yourſelf deep in the Gratifications of Senſe, to attain to an ample Fruition of Terreſtrial Poſſeſſions, to live in Pomp and Gallantry, to be Great and Powerful. And where ſuch an Aſſembly of carnal Appetites are got together, it is impoſſible for the Thoughts of Religion, or the very Deſire of knowing any Thing tending thereunto, not to be extinguiſh'd and ſtifled. It is impoſſible that Piety ſhou'd have any true Intereſt there, where the World its Enemy is ſo ſtrongly affected, or that two whoſe Maxims are ſo contradictory ſhou'd find an hearty Welcome in the ſame Boſom. It is impoſſible to make any extraordinary Applications to the Acquiſitions of this Life, which will not clog the Search after future Happineſs; the Paths are wholly different which lead to the one and to the other, and 'tis a ridiculous Contradiction to pretend to go two contrary Ways at the ſame Time. Chriſtianity, as well as other Profeſſions, requires attentive Meditation, frequent Exerciſe, and that with Value and Delight; there being no probability of arriving to a Proficiency therein, when we ſet about it with an alienated Mind. He that Liſts under the Banner of Chriſt, muſt not expect to live a negligent ſupine Life, but muſt keep himſelf in a conſtant Poſture of engaging in his Service; he muſt as much as may be ſtand clear

from the World, and reject its Allurements. He must be ready and willing to yield up his Inclinations to the Will of his holy Master, to deny himself, to refrain from all bodily Pleasures as incurable Poisons; to look upon Riches with a cool Indifference, and, if God commands, to be expos'd to Calamities or Death itself.

*Jul.* Very fine! The Pope will be in a pretty Condition if he follows your Advice. Pray what is it you allow him, if he is to be stript of his Grandeur, Wealth and Pleasures, and not only so, but he must with a sheepish Tameness lie still and hold his Throat up to be cut when Religion requires? Very wholesome Advice indeed! for one who may have it in his Power to live at ease like the Divine Epicurus, to Lord it o'er all Mankind, to roll in Money, to swim in rapturous Delights; for such a thrice-happy Creature spontaneously to embrace and hug those three hagged Fiends, Pain, Poverty and Contempt! I am your humble Servant. Were I to live again, you might look some where else for your Bubbles, for my Part I'd be no such Fool.

*Pet.* It may be you think Christ himself (*who was the Wisdom of his Father*) to have been a Fool, because, *being Lord of all*, he became scorn'd and despis'd, *a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with Grief*; because his whole Life was a Series of Misery, and because with a sheepish Tameness (which passive Temper you vilify so much) he open'd not his Mouth, but went quietly to the Slaughter.

*Jul.* Truly, I don't think much otherwise; and I dare swear most People now-a-days are of the same Opinion. And tho' some may seemingly extol his submissive self-denying Carriage, yet not many will be desirous to imitate him.

*Pet.* Whether they desire so to do or not, if they desire to be happy, they must be content to follow that Great and really Divine Exemplar. He that loves any thing more than the Blessed Jesus, will

never

*never be worthy of him*; and whoſoever is *reſolv'd to ſave his Life for the ſake of the World, will loſe it for ever.* To take up the Croſs is the true Characteriſtick of a Chriſtian, which becauſe 'tis ſo diſagreeable with the Earthly Affections of moſt People, therefore it is uſual for ſuch to take up with that Way which requires no ſevere Reſtrictions. They think to put God off with ſome empty Ceremonies, trifling Externals, meer Shows and Trinkets (the well known Method of corrupted *Rome*) which have only the Formality, but nothing of the Subſtance of Religion. This may be call'd a Religion without Religion, which is a flat Contradiction. And what gawdy Profeſſions ſoever ſuch nauſeous Hypocrites make of Sanctity, with their Crucifixes, Images, Proceſſions, Beads, Holy-Water, and ſuch like Stuff, it ſignifies nothing, unleſs it be to make them the more abominable in the Sight of God.

*Jul.* By the Maſs, a downright Heretick!

*Pet.* If you had been as free from the Pollutions of the World, as I am from Hereſy, you wou'd not have thus miſerably incapacitated yourſelf for an Admiſſion into theſe Regions of Glory, and an Incorporation with our bleſſed Society.

*Jul.* Incapacitated! what do you mean? am not I a Chriſtian, Malepert! nay, was I not the viſible Head of the whole Body of Chriſtians?

*Pet.* If you were the Head of all the Chriſtian Members, it wou'd repreſent to my Imagination the Reverſe of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Image, which he ſaw in his Dream, *the Head whereof was fine Gold, and the Feet Iron and Clay*; but in the Body you mention, I am ſure the viſible Head, which you term yourſelf, was baſe and vile enough. I wou'd not have you think I do you any Injuſtice, if I ſay, you was not a Chriſtian, your being call'd one ſignifies not much to the Purpoſe. All are not *Iſrael* which are of *Iſrael*, neither are all Chriſtians which are nominally ſo. You was too much drench'd and ſoak'd in Terrene Impurities, to lay

claim to be a Member of Chriſt. The Senſual, Careleſs and Profane, (ſuch as I perceive you have been) tho' they may enjoy the common Eſtimation of Members, yet are they far from being actually ſo. As in the Natural Body, an Arm or a Leg may be ſtupified with a Palſey or a Lethargy, an Eye may be out, or an Ear deaf, and theſe ſtill keep their Place, tho' not their Uſe in the Body. So in the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, every outward viſible Member is not ſpiritually united to him; nor have they properly any Being or Place in that Body, who diſcharge not thoſe Duties, which he the reſplendant and glorious Head commands. And as it is requir'd of all the Members of Chriſt in general, that to the utmoſt of their Power they ſhould cleanſe themſelves from all Filthineſs both of Fleſh and Spirit; ſo more particularly it is expected that thoſe of the Sacred Function ſhou'd preſerve themſelves undefil'd. He muſt be perfectly ſtupid who does not perceive the horrid Incongruity of the vicious Gratifications of the World, with a Divine Vocation. And amongſt Eccleſiaſticks the more eminent the Station of any one is, the more cloſely he ought to conform to the Life of the Bleſſed Maſter and Author of Chriſtianity. The Place and Dignity of Prelates render them more open to publick View than others; their Actions are remark'd, and have many Obſervators. They are the great Luminaries of the Church, which ſhou'd ſhine with a pure and ſpotleſs Light, becauſe all Eyes are gazing upon them, to take Notice what Scum and Dimneſs at any time they contract. They ſhou'd be wary and circumſpect, not only doing no Evil, but being remarkable for Goodneſs. They ought to be manumis'd from the Vices of the People, ſuch as Avarice, hunting after Wealth and Lucre, Ambition, Pride, and affecting Superiority over one another, all purſuit of Secular Employments, all Diſtractions of Mind with worldly Affairs, all Immerſion in immoderate and undue Uſe of ſenſual

ſual Delights. Theſe things are altogether unbecoming their Rank and Character, who are oblig'd to be in a more peculiar manner the Servants and Subjects of him whoſe Kingdom is not of this World. But in you I behold an exact Oppoſition to all theſe Requiſites of a Supreme Eccleſiaſtick. Inſtead of renouncing all greedy Deſires of Gain, you, *Judas* like, betray'd Religion for Money, and prefer'd the Pieces of Silver to Chriſt himſelf. Inſtead of diſcarding all Worldly Mindedneſs, you was up to the Head and Ears in Worldly Tranſactions; being always in a Hurry of Buſineſs, having your Thoughts taken up with the Perplexities of raiſing Contributions and Forces, making and breaking of Alliances, taking of Towns, quartering of Soldiers, providing of Ammunition, and ordering of Marches. Inſtead of a ſtrict Sobriety and Moderation, Temperance and Abſtinence, you indulg'd yourſelf in Luxury and Senſuality, and all ſorts of ſcandalous Gratifications. What palpable Contradictions you twiſted together in your ſingle Perſon? That an utter Adverſary to the Chriſtian Life ſhou'd pretend to be Chriſt's Vice-gerent; That a notorious Rebel againſt him ſhou'd vaunt himſelf as his prime Miniſter; that he, who ſought after nothing ſo much as Worldly Titles, Pomp and Greatneſs, ſhou'd not bluſh to be call'd the Repreſentative of him, whoſe Humility and Condeſcenſion were ſo well known, and whoſe Exinanition was ſo ſtupendous. That the Demeanor of the Servant ſhou'd be ſo unlike that of the Maſter; That one ſhou'd undertake to give his Benediction to others, who his ſelf is *Anathema*, *Maranatha*; That he ſhou'd be ſo vain as to promiſe Heaven to others, from which he is for ever baniſh'd. In a word, that he who ought to be moſt holy, ſhou'd be the moſt impious Perſon upon Earth! This is perfectly to mock God, and abuſe Men; to ſcandalize and profane the ſacred Calling, and (as much as in you lay) to ruin the Church, whereof you claim'd the Supreme Government and Preſervation. I know no Difference betwixt you

and the rankeſt of its Supplanters, between you and the Great *Turk*; excepting this one thing, that you had the better Name, and the worſe Vices; and that of the two you made the greater Elopements from Chriſtianity.

*Jul.* You give yourſelf (methinks) very free Airs about my Character; but I wou'd have you to know, that (notwithſtanding your cenſorious Babbling) it was my Intention to enrich the Church with all manner of Embelliſhments. And becauſe the profound *Ariſtotle* (as I have been told) reduces all Goods to thoſe of Fortune, Body and Mind, I was unwilling to invert the Order, and make any Alteration of the Platform laid down by ſo acute a Philoſopher; therefore I began with the Goods of Fortune, as being the capital Bleſſing; with which I was reſolv'd to adorn Mother-Church in the firſt place, being extreme unwilling ſo venerable a Matron ſhou'd appear in Rags, and not, like herſelf, in ſplendid Habiliments. Which, when I had in ſome meaſure effected, I might perhaps by degrees have proceeded to the Goods of the Soul and Mind, and have taken Religion a little into Conſideration, if I had liv'd long enough, and had not been hurried away from the World all of a ſudden.

*Pet.* I think almoſt fourſcore Years of Age cannot properly be call'd ſuch a ſudden, and untimely Removal from your Fellow Mortals: But I am afraid that if you had continued on Earth three times as long as you did, the Church wou'd not have been much the better for you. The Goods of Grace wou'd have had but a very ſmall Share of your Countenance and Regard: They might have waited 'till the laſt Moment, before the Goods of Fortune wou'd have permitted them to be thought on.

*Jul.* Marry! as witty as you ſhew yourſelf upon the Goods of Fortune, they are pretty Conveniencies: Conveniencies did I call 'em? they are abſolute Neceſſaries, and deſerve to be plac'd in the Front of all Poſſeſſions, whilſt others bring up the Rear,

Rear. I am ſure there is no doing without 'em; People wou'd not care a Doit for us if we appear'd in the Garb of Poverty. We ſhou'd ſtrike no more Awe upon 'em than *Æſop*'s ſenſleſs Log, and be counted as inſignificant as the fifth Wheel of a Coach. 'Tis well known, that we Popes are not much lov'd or eſtimated by the prophane ſawcy Barbarians. But we don't mind that, ſo long as we have wherewithal to make 'em fear us. Which Pow'r if we had not, of guarding ourſelves againſt the Inſults of thoſe that malign us, by oppoſing Force againſt Force, the Church wou'd ſoon fall to Dilapidation, and be in a deſpicable Condition. The Power of your Keys, without ſome other Power to back it, was never much valu'd by *Julius*. For which reaſon I was once very ſmart upon your Keys, (you muſt needs have heard of that incomparable Paſſage) when I gave them a gentle toſs into the *Tyber*, ſaying, that St. *Paul*'s Sword wou'd be more prevalent than the Arms of St. *Peter*; and in they went i'faith. I hope you did not take it ill what I ſaid and did, for I cou'd not forbear being witty on that Occaſion.

*Pet.* No, by no means. 'Twere unreaſonable to deſire ſo fine a Jeſt to be loſt. But I am rather of Opinion, that if you had been an exemplary Pattern of Holineſs to Chriſtians, had they beheld your Sobriety, Mortification and Contempt of the World, your Diligence in the Paſtoral Office, your ardent Charity, and Care for the Salvation of Souls, your Meekneſs, Humility and other Virtues, it wou'd have been more effectual to conciliate Reſpect and Reverence, than all your Armies. There is nothing doth more invite and challenge Eſteem and Honour, than a godly and righteous Behaviour. There is a Majeſty and Awe in the Names, Perſons, Preſence and Lives of good Men, which ev'n the greateſt Libertines cannot but revere. Nor can I think it had been leſs advantageous to the common Cauſe of Chriſtianity, *had*

*your Light ſhone before Men*; it is impoſſible but that the Sight of your *good Works* muſt have conduc'd far more efficaciouſly to the Flouriſhing of the Church of Chriſt, and the Enlargement of its Borders, than your Amplifying its Revenues, tho' you had caſt the Wealth of both *Indies* into its Lap. At preſent by your Male-Adminiſtration, the holy Church is contracted into a ſmall Compaſs; and the pernicious Method of behaving yourſelf, has caus'd ſuch a general Depravation, that if a Scrutiny were to be made for true ſincere Primitive Chriſtians, not one in a hundred (of your Subjects eſpecially) wou'd paſs Muſter. Pray did you never employ your ſerious Thoughts when you poſſeſs'd the Chair, about the Original, the Progreſs and Eſtabliſhment of the Church? Did the Bleſſed Founder thereof make his Appearance in Pomp and Magnificence? Did he chuſe a glorious Palace for the Place of his Nativity? were all the Sovereigns and Princes of the Earth ſummon'd to give their Attendance, and pay Homage to him? did he command all their Crowns and Scepters to be laid at his Feet? Did the Religion which he taught prevail, and make its way thro' all Impediments, by Wealth, by Chariots and Horſes, by Splendor and Glory, by Violence and Tyranny, by Maſſacres and ſavage Cruelty, which make the Creſcent bluſh, and aſpiring *Rome* look red? No. But by Patience and Conſtancy, by ſuffering Indignities, Reproaches and Malice; by Oppoſitions on every Side, and Perſecutions in ev'ry Place; by encountring Death in its moſt frightful Form; by a few Perſons who were ſober, righteous, godly and lowly in Heart; who preach'd to the World the ſame excellent Graces which they poſſeſt and practis'd themſelves. Thus was the Church firſt begun, advanc'd and ſettl'd, and by theſe Means were the Curtains of its Habitations ſtretch'd forth. But you groſly and ſcandalouſly meaſure the Church's Increment, by the continual Accumula-

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tion of worldly Grandeur to its Miniſters. You reckon Legacies, Gifts, and external Decoration of Temples made with Hands, among its Ornaments; and when the Univerſe almoſt is put into an Uproar, and entangl'd in deſtructive Wars by your infernal Policies, you, by a ſtrange Figure of Speech, call it the Defence of the Church. And in your Opinion the Church flouriſhes, when your Adherents are loaded with Spoil and Plunder, when your Clergy fatten and wallow in ſenſual Eaſe and Luxury; and it is in a State of Tranquility, you ſay, when you can enjoy without interruption your ill-acquir'd Poſſeſſions, and revel in your abominable Courſes without contradiction. In a Word, when you, together with thoſe Princes by you tutor'd, and impos'd upon by your ſpecious tinſel Documents, have committed the moſt barbarous Ravages and Inclemencies upon poor Chriſtians, then do you confidently (tho' very abſurdly) give out, that you have been fighting for the Defence of Chriſt and his Intereſt.

*Jul.* Truly, I was always inclinable to think as you have ſaid, and you are the firſt that ever rung this contrary Peal into my Ears, or that durſt declaim againſt my Proceedings in this free Manner.

*Pet.* Did your Preachers never with a becoming Boldneſs, Zeal and Courage, tell you of your Miſcarriages, and make you ſenſible of your horrid Practice? I ſuppoſe you cou'd not avoid hearing them ſometimes, and then how did they deal with you?

*Jul.* How? you may be ſure with all the Deference and Reſpect imaginable, as it was their bounden Duty. They were ſo far from ſhewing in the Pulpit any keen Reſentments of my Conduct, that they made it their Buſineſs in that Place to ſtrain their rhetorical Pipes in ſounding forth my Commendation; they rack'd their Brains to find out the moſt Auguſt Epithets to beſtow upon me. They'd mount me in their Elogies up to the Heavens,

vens, and compare me to *Jove*, ſhaking the very Foundation of the Earth with my tremendous Thunder. They preach'd me up for no leſs than one of the Celeſtial Powers, and an univerſal Diſpenſer of Bleſſings, as the Sun ſcatters its Genial Rays throughout the World.

*Pet.* I am ſure they acted contrary to their Duty in ſo doing, and ſhow'd themſelves falſe and daubing Prophets, thus to ſooth and cheriſh you up with alcaliz'd Diſcourſes, with luſcious and fulſome Addreſſes, inſtead of dealing roundly and plainly with your Vices. A true Apoſtolical Preacher ſhou'd pierce and lance to the quick, encounter Sin where-ever he finds it. *There is no Reſpect of Perſons with God*, nor ſhou'd there be any with his Miniſters. Tho' they behold Impiety clad in Purple, and guarded with Enſigns of Authority; tho' it ſhelter itſelf in Courts and Palaces, yet it is their Duty to attack it. It might be modiſh and genteel (as ſome ſtile it) but ſure it was a vile, wicked Part in them, to flatter you with Peace and Security, nay even with Praiſes, whilſt you were at War with Heaven, and bidding Defiance to the Almighty. They ſhou'd have been as free in their Declarations againſt your evil Courſes, as my Brother *Paul* was with *Elymas*, and as I once was with your Brother *Simon Magus*. But I confeſs, it wou'd have been no common difficulty to reform you; becauſe you, who ought to have been in the higheſt degree *the Salt of the Earth*, and have kept the World from putrifying, was unſavoury and noiſome yourſelf, and thereby paſt all poſſibility of Amendment, *and good for nothing but to be caſt out*, to be utterly deſpis'd, diſregarded, *and trampled upon.*

*Jul.* So much for your long dull Preachment on Preaching: Will you let me in or no?

*Pet.* To put you out of all doubt, here is no room for you. If ſuch as you enter in, the worſt upon Earth need never fear an Excluſion: But though I have

have no Commiſſion to let you in, I will adviſe you for the beſt, according to your preſent Circumſtances. You have Men and Money at command, (it ſeems) and you are an excellent Projector and Contriver; Rear up a new Paradice for yourſelf and your Gang; but let it be well fortified, for fear the rude cloven-footed Tribe ſhou'd aſſault it, and become Maſters thereof.

*Jul.* Keep your Advice to yourſelf, I know what to do better than you can tell me. Reſt ſatisfied I ſhall act as becomes the Heroick *Julius*. In a very little time I ſhall have a conſiderable Augmentation of my Forces, and I'll enter Sword in hand. I expect above Sixty thouſand of the Slain in my fomented Wars, who will all repair to me as ſoon as ever they arrive, and then I ſhall be upon the Bones on ye. Then in all haſte you'll be for beating the Chamade for a Party, and be glad to accept of any Terms and Conditions when 'tis too late. And ſince you was ſo pert to adviſe me but juſt now, give me leave to adviſe you a little before we part, If you are not a Fool or a mad Man, open the Gate immediately; this is the laſt time of asking.

*Pet.* We are certainly very much indebted to your Tenderneſs and Clemency, (Diſpoſitions rarely obſerv'd in you whilſt you was an earthly Inhabitant) thus to propoſe ſo fair Overtures, and to give us ſuch generous Warning; and, as a plain vulgar Adage expreſſes it, to bark before you bite. If you will be rul'd by me, procure *Hildebrand*, that notable Conjurer, one of your Predeceſſors, if he is to be obtain'd for Love or Money; and make him General of the Army which you threaten us with: For aſſure yourſelf it muſt be a Power ſupernatural, Art Magick at leaſt, which can force open this impregnable Portal.

*Jul.* That ſame *Hildebrand* (notwithſtanding your Banter) was a clever Pope, and one whom the Church of *Rome* was infinitely oblig'd to.

*Pet.*

*Pet.* Was he ſo? How comes it to paſs we have not his Company? I never yet ſaw him amongſt us: Is he with you at the Gate?

*Jul.* You may go look. I ſee 'tis not worth while to talk with you any longer, nor do I think you a fit Perſon to hold any further Communication with. By your Behaviour I much queſtion whether you are *Peter*; if you were, you wou'd have more Manners than to uſe a Perſon of my Rank and Quality ſo booriſhly; not only diſobeying my Commands, but every now and then blirting out ſome of your Jeers, and impudent Reflections.

*Pet.* We are not much addicted to gloſſing or ſuperfluous Compliments in theſe Regions of Truth and Sincerity; we always ſpeak as we think, and aſſign to ev'ry one his proper Name and Character.

*Jul.* Well, I have no more to ſay to you at preſent; but you may be poſitive it ſhall not be long before I return ſeven times more formidable than I am now.

*Pet.* Exactly the very Method of a Diabolical Valediction, as our bleſſed Maſter and Saviour foretold in the Goſpel concerning the unclean Spirit's Return! But hold, *Julius!* before you march to your own Place, tell me ſeriouſly, and in one Word, (for hitherto you have related nothing but Comical Drollery to my thinking) did you ever in your Life-time ſo much as dream of going to Heaven?

*Jul.* Dream! 'Oons, you wou'd make one mad to hear you talk; why, I thought myſelf ſure on't. What reaſon had I to doubt in the leaſt of being admitted myſelf, when I gave Tickets frequently for the Admittance of others. Beſides, is not the Biſhop of *Rome Peter's* Succeſſor, Heir, Executor and Adminiſtrator? and has not he as much Right (as being Chriſt's Vicar-General) to Heaven, and as topping a Place there, as yourſelf? I am ſure it will be an eternal Scandal to you, if any of your ſupreme Metropolitan Brethren ſhou'd be ſent to the Devil. Is he a fit Companion for a Pope? Is Infernal Darkneſs

neſs a ſuitable Place for a Prime Apoſtolical Governor?

*Pet.* For ſuch a Mock Apoſtolical Governor as *Julius*, it is very proper and juſt. You will there meet with Birds of your own Feather; you will there be aſſign'd to the Society of ſuch proud, turbulent, impure Spirits, as you are moſt connaturaliz'd to in Temper, and ſuch as you can't meet here to divert yourſelf with. I fancy you have a wrong Notion of Heaven and its Happineſs; and that if you thoroughly knew how little it wou'd anſwer your Expectations, you wou'd not ſo furiouſly covet to get in.

*Jul.* I fancy you are an Ideot by your talking. As if the moſt ignorant Ruſtick had not a ſufficient Underſtanding of Heaven, and at the ſame time a Centripetal Tendency in his Deſires to be fixt there.

*Pet.* May I know what manner of Place you imagine it to be, or if you ſhou'd be admitted there, (which is utterly impoſſible) how wou'd you ſpend your time?

*Jul.* Wou'd you know my Thoughts of the Place? What can I ſuppoſe it to be, but a Seat abounding with all manner of Gratifications for ev'ry Palate, Pleaſures for ev'ry Inclination, a Place full of Pomp and Magnificence, abounding with glorious Palaces, exquiſitely furniſh'd with all Accommodations fit for the Reception of a Pope; and that 'tis a Place which one of my Merits and Character has a Right to demand an Entrance into, and bear great Sway in, as well as all other Places in the Univerſe; and that if there is any Diſtinction of Manſions (as I have been told there is) one of the moſt ſplendid ſhou'd be allotted to me? Then as for my employing myſelf when there, you need not trouble yourſelf about that. A Perſon of my conſtant Motions and Activity is never at a loſs to ſpend his time; nor did I ever ſuffer it to wear away inſignificantly, 'till this fooliſh Conference with you. But why, I pray, did you ask this Nonſenſical Queſtion?

*Pet.*

*Pet.* The Queſtion is not altogether ſo needleſs and ſenſleſs as you imagine. For were you to be amongſt us, (which I ſpeak only by way of Suppoſition) you wou'd be like a Fiſh out of its Element; nor cou'd you ever participate with us in our Pleaſures, but in Anguiſh inexpreſſible you wou'd pine to all Eternity.

*Jul.* Your Reaſon for that I beſeech you?

*Pet.* Do you doubt of it in the leaſt? You will be of my Opinion, when I ſhall have told you in a Word or two, wherein Heaven's Happineſs conſiſts, and how every one muſt be qualified to enjoy it. The bleſſed State of Heaven conſiſts in the Beatifick Viſion of God; in knowing, loving, obeying, adoring, contemplating, and imitating that All-glorious Being; in an Acquaintance with the bleſſed Jeſus in his humane Nature, who is the expreſs Image of God, and rais'd to the higheſt Dignity, and is Head and Prince of the Celeſtial Hierarchy. This is a main and principal Part of Heaven; but beſides this, there are other bleſſed Ingredients of Happineſs: Namely, *an intimate Converſation with Angels and Archangels, Holy Saints,* (not ſuch as your Calender is ſtuff'd with) *Patriarchs and Prophets, Apoſtles, Martyrs, and glorified Spirits of the Juſt.* With ſuch as theſe, they that are of an heavenly Diſpoſition, are unſpeakably ſatisfied and tranſported. But theſe bliſsful Objects and raviſhing Entertainments wou'd affect you no more, than the Beauty of Colours wou'd a blind Mind, or a Conſort of Muſick one that is deaf. There is an abſolute Neceſſity of Holineſs (more real than your nauſeous arrogant Title) in order to Happineſs; an indiſſoluble Connexion betwixt Grace and Glory; it being impoſſible for a ſenſual Soul, for a corrupt Will and Inclination to reliſh the forementioned Pleaſures. For between a ſpiritual Heaven and a carnaliz'd Mind, between a divine Employment and a deviliſh Temper (as yours is) there is an irreconcileable Contrariety. And for ſuch a Mind to live happily upon ſuch a Heaven, is as

un-

unpracticable in the Nature of the Thing, as for a hungry Wolf to fill his Belly with Syllogisms, or satisfy his Appetite upon a Lecture of Philosophy. Supposing therefore, that you, or others like you, were translated into the forementiond glorious Society, they being all over so abominably Worldly, Brutish and Diabolical, they wou'd have an implacable Aversion to a Consortship with essential Purity, and the innumerable refin'd Images of God the most perfect Archetype. Likeness is the greatest Indearment of Love, and the most natural Foundation of Delight and Complacency. But every wicked Person is so totally unlike to that immaculate Holiness of God, that 'tis impossible he shou'd heartily love him, nay, 'tis impossible for him not to retain an eternal Antipathy against him. You therefore that have launch'd into Eternity with detestable Inclinations of Soul, unreconcil'd to God, and all the Exercises of Heaven, and which Inclinations and Byasses are now for ever unalterable: If you (I say) shou'd come amongst us, you wou'd be confin'd to a Society of such Spirits, whom you cou'd never agree with, and be contemper'd to. So that you wou'd loath your Condition, and chuse rather to convey yourself from it for ever, it being so unsuitable to your Will and Affections; it wou'd be a Torment instead of a Fruition, and a real Grievance to be forc'd to endure it. You wou'd everlastingly long and hanker after such Things that you were accustom'd to on Earth, and which in Heav'n you wou'd find yourself for ever depriv'd of. For alas! in our Regions of Bliss, things are quite otherwise than what your gross Imagination inculcates to you. Here are no Republicks to be subverted, no Princes to be trampl'd on, no hostile Forces to be routed, no Ovations and publick Triumphs for Victories obtain'd. There never was any War but once in these Celestial Abodes, and those that caus'd it were quickly banish'd thence to the Place where you will be speedily consign'd. Here are

no

no bloody Inquiſitions, no Torturing and Martyring the ſtedfaſt Profeſſors of Chriſt (God's dearly beloved) under the Pretext of a Zeal againſt Hereſy. No lofty Chairs for a vain-glorious, impoſthumated Pope, to be exalted and carried in; no Circle of tympaniz'd Cardinals to ſurround you; no gloſſing Romaniſts to compliment you with Hyperbolick Titles, to term you (who was not much different from a Devil Incarnate) their Lord, their Terreſtrial Deity; to pay a Divine Adoration to you themſelves, and enact Laws for others to do the ſame. Here is no Violence and Oppreſſion, Injuſtice and Treachery; no ſharp-ey'd Knaviſh Policy; no Inſincerity and Craftineſs of Temper; no Lies and Falſhoods; no diſguiſing with Equivocal Reſervations; no ſubtle Traps and Snares, nor villainous Ambuſhes laid in Words; but on the contrary, we converſe together with the greateſt Openneſs and Freedom, we notify our Intentions, unfold our Hearts, and unboſom ourſelves one to another, without the leaſt Reſerve or Diſſimulation. Again, here is no Pontifical Exchequer to ſwallow up vaſt Treaſures, which by ſcandalous Ways and Means you wipe the People of. Here are no Theatrical Spectacles, lewd Games and Feſtivities; no Rioting, no indulging of bodily Pleaſures, by devouring, ſwilling and pampering; no Fornications, Adulteries, nor unnatural brutal Debaucheries; no Pimps, Panders and Promoters of Obſcenities. In a Word, we reverſe your Way of living, and for ever tread Antipodes to all your Delights and Gratifications; here being no Opportunities for thoſe deteſtable Vices, which you (beyond all others) have been filthily wallowing in all your Life-time. So that Heav'n, tho' it contains noble Entertainments for Minds that are contemper'd to them, to you wou'd be a barren Wilderneſs, where no Good grows that you cou'd live upon, none but what is nauſeous and diſtaſtful to your coarſe and vitiated Palate.

*Gen.*

*Gen.* If the Caſe is thus, I don't ſee what Buſineſs we have to ſtay here any longer, we may e'en be packing; for I am ſure (Maſter *Julius*) I know ſo much, you are no more tun'd and adapted for Heav'n, than a miry Sow is for a royal Bedchamber.

*Pet.* Peace, *Genius*, your time is not yet come to interrupt.

*Gen.* It will come preſently, I perceive.

*Jul.* You have told me a great deal of News, but I ſhall not give much credit to your Bamboozling Story.

*Pet.* Have not you been told the ſame Things in the Sacred Writings?

*Jul.* What ſacred Writings do you mean?

*Pet.* The Canonical Writings.

*Jul.* I ſuppoſe you mean our Canons and Decrees, inſerted in our Decretals.

*Pet.* No ſuch Trumpery. I mean the ſacred Scriptures, which were pen'd by Perſons whom the Holy Ghoſt inſpir'd and dictated to, which compoſe the Books call'd the Old and New Teſtament.

*Jul.* O, ho! the Bible as Folks call it. Truly I am very little acquainted with it, as I have told you before, having ſcarce ever look'd into it. A Paſſage or two which were for my Purpoſe, I made a ſhift to obtain by Hear-ſay. But this Bible-mentioning of yours confirms me in what I ſuſpected of you, that you are turn'd Recreant, and are of the Hereticks Side. They talk much after the ſame Manner, idolize this ſame Bible, and are very pragmatically buſy with it. For my part I always abominated theſe Bible-Worms; nor did I ever judge it for the Honour or Advantage of the Pope, to encourage, or even to tolerate the Poring upon that Book; it generally tending to Innovations, ſtrange Doctrines, impertinent Scrutinies, and Contempt of our Authority; which evil Conſequences I wonder that *Peter* ſhou'd not be ſen-

ſible of. But (with a Murrain) muſt I wait here at the Gate till my Toes ake with cold? thoſe Toes that Kings have been proud to ſalute!

*Pet.* Are you cold, ſay you? you will ſoon be cur'd of that Diſtemper, when you go to your fiery Habitation. Not that of Purgatory, from whoſe fabulous and temporary Flames you have chous'd many a poor Soul with a promis'd Deliverance, when Money has interpos'd; but to the real, ſubſtantial and eternal Fire, prepar'd for the Devil and his Angels, and ſuch as yourſelf. There you will have Heat enough and to ſpare.

*Gen.* Well, all is over, you ſee; now come away, let's be marching. My Maſter *Beelzebub* has wav'd his commanding Wand, the Signal of my attending his Will and Pleaſure. Come along.

*Pet.* Hold thou *Evil Genius*, anſwer me firſt to one Queſtion. Are all Popes of the ſame Stamp with this Monſter?

*Gen.* To be plain with you, there is not much difference. But *Julius* (to give him his due) deſerves the Poſt of Captain General over them all. He was a Non-Pareille.

*Pet.* It may be you inſtigated him to this horrid degree of Wickedneſs.

*Gen.* I inſtigate him! marry, you don't do me Juſtice in ſaying ſo. He far outſtrip'd me in all manner of Impiety; I had need have had a Pair of Wings to overtake him. I was downright diſtanc'd.

*Pet.* It is no wonder ſo few of thoſe who are bigotted to Popes, come hither to us, when they are ſo deplorably miſled by theſe nefarious Pretenders to Supremacy and Sanctity, and fatally deluded with the Shams of mercenary Pardons, Prayers for 'em when dead, Pilgrimages, Holy-Water, Crucifixes, Extreme Unctions, and ſuch like Traſh. 'Tis pity the credulous Vulgar ſhou'd be thus miſerably impos'd upon by ſuch Agents of Satan, under the plauſible Appellation of Popes; by which

once

once honourable Name the Biſhops of the Primitive Church were promiſcuouſly call'd as * Fathers. But it has been ſo long (it ſeems) miſapplied to ſuch ſcandalous Eccleſiaſtick Governors, that it has found the like hard Meaſure with thoſe other once dignify'd Names of Tyrant and Sophiſter; and from a Title of Honour, is degenerated into a Term of the greateſt Reproach and Infamy.

*Gen.* You are in the right; but it belongs not to me to ſpeak againſt and beſpatter our own Fraternity. *A Kingdom* (you know) *divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand.* Adieu. Come, *Julius*, budge along.

*Jul.* Thou impudent, infernal Jackanapes! muſt I be commanded by you? Where the Devil are you dragging me? O, that I cou'd but take one turn more at *Rome*, and have the managing of you there, I'd make an Example of your Genius-ſhip. I'd in the firſt Place deliver you up to the Inquiſition, where you'd be nicely handl'd; then with my Anathemas wou'd I ſend you to the loweſt Pit in your Maſter's Dominions. And this I'd do by my own Authority, given under the Fiſher's Seal, let *Peter* contradict it if he durſt.

*Gen.* There is an old Proverb on my ſide, *Curſt Cows have ſhort Horns.* Thanks to the Fates, I am pretty well out of the terrible danger of your Fury at preſent; and I think I may venture to give you a caſt of my Office.

*Jul.* Help here, *Julius* is ſet upon ----- violent Hands are laid on his Holineſs Pope *Julius*. What no Body fly to his Aſſiſtance? ----- Pardon for all Sins that have been or ſhall be committed for an Hundred Years, out of our Apoſtolical Plenitude. To all and ſingular who ——

*Gen.* What delirious Fancies run in the old Dotard's Noddle! You may keep your Indulgences and Pardons to ſtop Bottles with. Do you ſee (old



* πάππας.

Gentleman) thoſe Soot-colour'd Attendants, who are advancing towards us?

*Jul.* They look like Devils, who e'er they be.

*Gen.* The very ſame; and they are come to wait upon you to your new Quarters. Here, I deliver up into your Poſſeſſion your own proper Goods, Pope *Julius* II. Take him and convey him where you are order'd.

*Jul.* Unhand me ye Acherontick Dogs! --- Help, help, good People help.

*Gen.* So, ----- a good Journey to you. I muſt away, and ply at the next Succeſſor to Infallibility,



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# EPILOGUE

## To the foregoing

# *DIALOGUE.*

THUS *these Dialogiſts anatomize* (Eyes;
Rome's *Popes, and well expoſe 'em to your*
*Chriſt's precious Vicars in this Mirror true,*
*Are nicely repreſented to your View:*
*Old* Julius *ſpeaks for all, nor is't uncouth*
*To ſay, of Pontiffs all, He is the Mouth.*
*What all? that ſeems too hard: Well, I'll retract,*
*Some few (as black Swans rare) may better act;*
*But ſure, what* Julius *frankly has confeſt,*
*Is in the Name of almoſt all the Reſt.*

*Alas! now Pope and Piety are two,*
*Like the World's Poles, they from each other go:*
*He from his Maſter's Service long has fell,*
*And to his Work ſome Ages bid farewel:*
*Feed Sheep and Lambs! 'tis a moſt foul Diſgrace;*
*The bloated Vicar is above the Place;*
*Such Drudges Paſtoral let others be,*
*That Office ne'er with Pontiffs will agree.*
*They'll have their Kingdom here, unlike the Text,*
*They'll graſp this World, let who will take the next.*

*They*

*They love to roll in Wealth, to bask in Eaſe,*
*And their voluptuous Inclinations pleaſe:*
*They love in State and Grandeur to appear,*
*And univerſally to domineer;*
*Upon the Necks of Kings to ſet their Feet,*
*And make thoſe Royal Lips their Slippers greet.*
*What Spirit actuates the Triple Crown,*
*Ten thouſand Hiſtories have handed down;*
*Whoſe Narratives afford us this Remark,*
*That Pontiff's Counſellors are Angels dark.*
*They juſtify what ſportive Painters here*
*Deſcribe, where Devil is to Pope plac'd near,*
*Breathing his Antichriſtian Maxims in his Ear.*

*How oft they canonize the worſt of Men,*
*To write whoſe very Names wou'd fright my Pen!*
*How oft at Murders of the deepeſt Dye,*
*They wink, often command, oft ſanctify!*
*Like that tremendous Deed, when once ('tis ſaid)*
*Poiſon was mixt in Conſecrated Bread.*
*In fine, Rage, Avarice and matchleſs Pride,*
*With all the black Artillery beſide,*
*In Popes as in their proper Seat abide.*

*Ye noble Army of bleſt Martyrs, ſay,*
*What Heathens uſe more Cruelty than they?*
*Who, had they Pow'r co-equal to their Will,*
(Italians *true*) *wou'd damn as well as kill.*
*Let Holy-Church throughout the World confeſs*
*Who are more oppoſite to Holineſs,*
*Tho' with that Title fine, their putrid ſelves they dreſs!*
*As Rhetoricians by their Rules of Art,*
*Sometimes Names contrary to Things impart;*
*So Saint-like Names to their ſweet ſelves they give,*
*Figures alas of Speech! for we know how they live.*
*Thus they'll be Chriſtn'd (groſly impudent!)*
Celeſtine, Benedict, *and* Innocent;
Urbane *and* Clement, Pius, Boniface,
*Meer Names Theatrical, and pure Grimace.*

*At* Peter's *Truſt yet theſe Impoſtors aim,*
*Nay, they will far ſurmount that Saint of Fame,*
*And Power of the* Keys *unrivall'd claim.*

*They*

*They ſwear they can, and they alone admit*
*Into Cœleſtial Joys, whom they think fit;*
*To ſcow'ring Purgatory Sinners ſend,*
*Or to Infernal Flames which never end.*
*Could'ſt thou, O Prime Apoſtle, ſtoop to know,*
*From thy exalted Manſion, Things below;*
*Thy Indignation it would juſtly move,*
*To ſee what Monſters thy Succeſſors prove.*
*How to thy Zeal Divine they counter run,*
*How unlike thee in ev'ry Point but one;*
*They with one Paſſage of thy Life comply,*
*When once (with Fear oppreſt) thou didſt deny*
*Thy Lord and God; they act thy Crime 'tis true,*
*Did they act thy Remorſe full well, they'd do,*
*For Floods of Tears did thy Repentance ſhew;*
*Whilſt they in Works deny their God much more,*
*But not like thee their Wickedneſs deplore.*

*Thrice happy Natives of the* Britiſh *Iſle!*
*Whom, free from Papal Uſurpation vile,*
*No longer* Rome's *Corruptions now defile.*
*With Shame be't ſpoke, long to this* Baal *did we,*
*Wrapt up in miſty Errors, bow the Knee;*
*Long time* Great Britain's *Monarchs were content,*
*To rule as Seconds in their Government:*
*The ſingle Crown with Triple durſt not cope;*
*Appeals ne'er went to* Cæſar, *but the* Pope.
*To him was ſworn Supreme Pre-eminence,*
*And he in* Peter's *Name had Tributary Pence.*
*Thus was our glorious Iſle the Pontiff's Aſs,*
*Gull'd with the Shows and Trinkets of the Maſs:*
*'Till the great Wheel of Fate did kindly run,*
*And the Eighth* Henry, *like a Riſing Sun,*
*Diſpell'd the Fogs; by him the Work was firſt begun.*
*He firſt from* England *ſhow'd to Pope the way,*
*Where he ne'er abſolutely ſince bore Sway.*
*Yet thrice this Dragon to re-enter try'd,*
*As oft kind Heav'n did his Attempts deride;*
*And by a mighty ſtretch'd-out Arm ſecure*
*The pureſt Church from diſgorg'd Floods impure.*

*The first Repulse the fam'd* Eliza *gave,*
*Next a Ninth* Henry, *most timely brave,*
*Our sinking State the second time did save.*
*Nor was our last Deliverance less strange,*
*When* George, *the once more black'ning Scene did change.*
*Scarce was this Monarch of his Throne possest,*
*And by the Good most heartily caress't,*
*When, lo! again the Papal Locusts swarm'd,*
*And with a third Attempt our Realms alarm'd.*
*Some (such as all Mankind must needs explode)*
*Who, Viper like, their Native Bed corrode)*
*Internal Foes did their Arrival court,*
*And aid them in this third and last Effort.*
*Their last, I say, for now all Danger's past;*
*Our Great Physician,* George, *says 'tis their last.*
*As* Mead *or* Garth, *those mighty Sons of Art,*
*When they pronounce no Hopes, he must depart:*
*The Death-struck Patient has not long to live;*
*Just such Assurance can our Monarch give,*
*Of curst Papistick Rule expiring here,*
*No Hopes are left for that, for us no Fear;*
*No Fear of* Rome's *Adherents stirring more,*
*Their last Convulsive struggling Kicks, are o'er.*

*This well-concluding Stroke, this final Blow,*
*To thee, next to the King of Kings, we owe:*
*To Thee, Great* George, *by Heaven sent for this,*
*Like* Moses, *to conduct into Bliss.*
*May'st Thou, and thy Renown'd Posterity,*
*These Realms enjoy, and them for ever see*
*From Popery, and dire Domestick Factions free.*

5 DEC 60

FINIS.

# A LETTER

TO

The Right Reverend Author of

*The Divine Legation of Moſes Demonſtrated;*

In Anſwer to

THE APPENDIX

To the Fifth Volume of that Work.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

Containing a former Literary Correſpondence.

BY

*A Late Profeſſor*

In THE UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

---

*Illud oro; ſi meam, cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo, moderationem modeſtiamque cognoſtis, ne me hodie, cum Iſti ut provocavit reſpondero, oblitum eſſe putetis mei.* CICERO.

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Imprimatur,

*THO. RANDOLPH,*

Pro-Vice-Can. OXON.

*Sept.* 24. 1765.



TO

The Right Reverend Author

OF

*The Divine Legation of Moſes Demonſtrated.*

MY LORD,

I CANNOT but think myſelf much obliged to your Lordſhip, for the diſtinguiſhed honour which you have done me, in making me the ſubject of an APPENDIX to your great Work of *The Divine Legation of Moſes Demonſtrated:* an honour, which you have hitherto conferred on no one, except a late noble Lord and myſelf. I heard indeed from every quarter, that you had taken it into your head, that I had affronted you; and that this imagined affront lay rankling at your heart. You expreſſed your indignation, with much vehemence and loud menaces, to almoſt every one whom you met: except to myſelf; whom you, at the ſame time, received with fair words and a ſmooth countenance: inſomuch that I was then really perſuaded,

that what I had heard of your reſentment was all an idle and groundleſs report. However, I did not imagine, either that the ſubject on which we differed was ſo important in itſelf, or the perſon who differed from you ſo conſiderable in your eſtimation, as to merit ſo formal a proceſs, and ſo ſolemn a chaſtiſement. I thought you might poſſibly whip me at the cart's tail in a Note to *Divine Legation*, the ordinary place of your literary executions: or pillory me in the Dunciad, another engine, which, as legal proprietor, you have very ingeniouſly and judiciouſly applied to the ſame purpoſe: or perhaps have ordered me a kind of Bridewell correction by one of your Beadles, in a pamphlet. I never flattered myſelf with the expectation of being exhibited on a ſcaffold, erected on purpoſe for me, and in ſo conſpicuous a place. I can do no leſs therefore than make my acknowledgments to your Lordſhip upon the occaſion; as Sir John Owen[a] did to my Lord Preſident Bradſhaw, of inſolent and brutal memory: having, together with ſeveral Peers, received ſentence of condemnation in the High Court of Juſtice, the honeſt Knight made a low reverence to his mock Lordſhip, and gave him humble thanks for the great honour done him in being condemned to loſe his head like a noble Lord; for, being but a poor Gentleman of Wales, he ſwore he was afraid he ſhould have been hanged.

[a] Clarendon's Hiſt. Vol. iii, p. 267. 8vo.

Having

Having thus paid all due reſpects and acknowledgments to your Lordſhip, I ſhall proceed, without further compliments and with all proper freedom, to inquire into the grounds of your reſentment, and the merits of the queſtion in diſpute.

You complain [b], as if I had attacked you in a certain Note of mine. How ſo, my Lord? My Note expreſsly referred to an anonymous book intitled, *A Free and Candid Examination of the Biſhop of London's Sermons*, &c. in which I was ſeveral times called to account, with a peculiar air of inſolence, that marks the controverſial writings which come from a certain quarter. I anſwered ſuch of the Candid Examiner's objections, as I thought at all worth anſwering: for as to the long Note of ſeven pages in the ſame book [c], wholly founded upon the author's not being able to conſtrue a plain ſentence in Latin, I thought it would be offering an affront to the underſtanding of my Readers to go out of my way to confute it. And pray, my Lord, what is all this to You? You will ſay perhaps, They were my Arguments? And pray, what is that to me? They were urged againſt me by the Candid Examiner, and againſt him I directed my anſwer: if they had come immediately from You, I would have directed my anſwer to You. If I had taken the contrary method, and fallen upon You inſtead of the Candid Examiner; you might then with ſome reaſon have repreſented me as a petulant

[b] Appendix, p. 415. [c] P. 278, &c.

and

and quarrelsome fellow, who had attacked you "without the least provocation given." As it is; I leave it to the unprejudiced to judge, whether you have any pretence at all for your complaint against me.

Besides, my Lord, I may appeal to your own judgment in this case: you represent me, as disputing with the Candid Examiner in the first part of the Note; you say, that then "I proceed to the "Author of the Divine Legation;" and that at last "I turn to the Examiner again." Now if any part of my Note relate to You, it must be the first and last parts, rather than the middle part: for the argument from the punishment of Idolatry by the Judge, is yours; or rather Mr Locke's, adopted by You, and taken up at third hand by the Candid Examiner: the argument from the punishment of the Fathers crime upon the Children, is yours; and from you retailed by the same: the middle argument from the antique cast of the Poem has less immediate relation to You, than either of the foregoing; it is a general defence of my thesis, or, if you please, a general objection to yours, not opposed to any particular argument that you have used. Now you have plainly acquitted me of any reflection upon You in the former instances, for in those you take up the cause as your client's, the Candid Examiner's, and not as your own; therefore, to be consistent with yourself, you must acquit me upon the other charge also.

Well:

Well: but after all you may ſay, that this is a mere evaſion; and that I muſt know, that in the preſent caſe, to attack the Candid Examiner, or You, was in effect the ſame thing. Why really, my Lord, there is ſome truth in this: I did indeed ſuppoſe, that there was an intimate union between You and the Candid Examiner. I could not but obſerve the ſame cauſe managed much in the ſame manner, and much of the ſame ſpirit breathing in both. His book came forth at leaſt with your approbation: you clapt upon its head a *Prologus galeatus*, (for the Public, I believe, was not miſtaken when it aſcribed the Preface to You;) and while little Teucer ſhot at all the Leaders of Troy, and had the vain ambition to think of vanquiſhing the great Hector himſelf, he ſculked behind the ſhade of the mighty Telamonian Shield,

——— " with ſeven thick folds o'ercaſt
" Of tough Bull-hides; of ſolid Braſs the laſt."

I preſume, my Lord, that the Candid Examiner is the ſame perſon whom your Lordſhip, in regard to his former ſervices, ſome time ſince preferred to the honourable office of being your Literary Scavenger; whoſe Patent ſtands upon record at the end of the Second Preface to the Second Part of *Divine Legation*. I applaud your choice: you could not eaſily have found a perſon more expert, not only in raking up dirt, but (which is a ſtill more uſeful qualification) in throwing it too, than this Candid Gentleman: and it muſt be ſuppoſed, that your connection

connection with him is of the closeſt nature. Still further, my Lord; I will confeſs, that I think it probable, as from other marks, ſo in particular from a notion which very often poſſeſſes this Writer's imagination, that all Authors whatever, while they are writing, think of no body but You; and, whatever opinions they advance, or confute, they aim at nothing but *Divine Legation*[d]: from hence, I ſay, I think it probable, that You had ſome hand in the book itſelf. But till you publickly acknowledge all this, and lay in your claim to your ſhare of the performance; I ſhall ſtill think, that any one, who has any matters to ſettle with the Candid Examiner, is quite at liberty to do it in what manner he thinks proper, without being in the leaſt accountable to your Lordſhip for ſo doing.

So much for the caſe, as it lies before the Public. I muſt now remind your Lordſhip of what has formerly paſt between us in private, concerning theſe ſame matters. In my Lectures on the Hebrew

[d] For example. "If they do," [no matter, who, or what] "how can he pretend, that the Jewiſh notion of a futurity "*makes any thing againſt the doctrine of D. L.*" Examin. p. 284. —— "Now, whether it would be worth while to give "up all theſe things," [that is, all the Prophecies both literal and typical] "*for the ſake of oppoſing the principles of the D.* "*L.* muſt be ſubmitted to the judgment of others." P. 124. As for the firſt of theſe paſſages, I can anſwer for the Perſon there meant; that, in the place referred to, he never pretended any ſuch thing, nor had the doctrine of D. L. in his thoughts. And of the ſecond of theſe paſſages, I dare ſay, the Learned Dr JORTIN can give much the ſame account.

Poetry

Poetry I treated of the Poem of Job, as my undertaking neceſſarily required. I gave my opinion of the age, the deſign, and the nature of the Poem, with freedom in reſpect to general ſentiments common to a number of authors, but without any reference to any one particular author, or reflection upon any perſon whatever. I was not conſcious of having given offence, nor could I ſuſpect that offence was taken. You ſignified to me, that You were offended; and called upon me to anſwer to the charge of having diſſented in opinion from You. I did not care to proteſt againſt the authoritative manner in which you proceeded; or to queſtion your inveſtiture in the high office of Inquiſitor General and Supreme Judge of the opinions of the Learned, which you had long before aſſumed, and had exerciſed with a ferocity and a deſpotiſm without example in the Republic of Letters, and hardly to be paralleled among the diſciples of Dominic; exacting their opinions to the ſtandard of your Infallibility, and proſecuting with implacable hatred every one that preſumed to differ from you. I knew, that ſuch a proteſt would lead immediately to what I was willing to avoid. I obeyed your ſummons: I gave you by Letter the account of myſelf, which you demanded; and, with due freedom, but, I hope, with civility and good manners, I aſſerted my right of thinking for myſelf; and endeavoured to remove the grounds of your reſentment. The debate ran out into ſome length; but ended in an amicable manner, which was much to my ſatisfaction. You

perhaps may ſtill ſuppoſe, that I was afraid of you. I will tell you fairly, what I was really afraid of: I was afraid, that two Members of the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Society, engaging in an open quarrel and a hoſtile altercation, (for ſuch I knew it muſt be, when You were one of the parties) upon a difference of opinion, in a point not only of no great importance, but ſo dubious as to be incapable of being perfectly ſettled between them, would make a contemptible figure, and exhibit a ridiculous ſpectacle to the Public. If this ſhould now be the caſe; I can only ſay, that it was not of my ſeeking. And that thoſe, who ſhall at all think it worth their while to inquire into the true origin and merits of this diſpute, may be able to judge who is the aggreſſor; I ſhall ſubjoin to this Addreſs the above-mentioned Literary Correſpondence, at large, and exactly as it paſſed between us.

But there is another circumſtance relating to this Correſpondence of ours, which muſt be inquired into. While I was carrying on an amicable treaty with you, at your own requiſition; I knew nothing at all of the proceedings of the Candid Examiner. His book was publiſhed about two or three months before the time, when you moved this affair: I had not ſeen it, nor had I the leaſt notice of my being at all concerned in it. Can You, my Lord, ſay the ſame thing? Did not You know, and approve of, his whole deſign? If you diſclaim all connexion with him, and diſown him as your confederate or agent; why are you angry at my taking him to

taſk,

taſk, for inſulting me? Why will You interpoſe, in our diſpute? If you cannot deny, that you had at that time ſeen his book, then newly publiſhed, and that you had ſeen it even before it was publiſhed; I think, I have reaſon to complain, that you did not deal fairly and openly with me yourſelf. You called upon me to anſwer to a charge, under pain of being chaſtiſed by You: it was too late; I had received my chaſtiſement from another hand before, with your knowledge and approbation, perhaps by your orders. You drew me into a conference, a pretended treaty of peace; while you knew, that your Cherokees and Iroquois were falling at that very time upon my back. In ſhort, my Lord, you muſt have then known; that, if I had been as well appriſed of the circumſtances of the caſe as You were, I muſt have refuſed to treat on ſuch terms. I ſhould certainly have broken off the treaty at once; and have left you to continue open hoſtilities in perſon, as you had in effect begun them by your allies. Indeed, my Lord, I was afterwards much ſurprized; when, having been with great civility diſmiſſed from your preſence, I found your Footman at your door armed with his Maſter's cane, and falling upon me without mercy, Yourſelf looking on and approving, and having probably put the weapon with proper orders into his hands, before you ſent me the invitation to an amicable conference, which I accepted. You think, it ſeems, that I ought to have taken my beating quietly and patiently; in reſpect to the livery which

he wore, and the inſtrument which he made uſe of: I was not of ſo tame a diſpoſition; I endeavoured to defend myſelf; I wreſted the weapon from him, and broke it: your Lordſhip, it ſeems, by an oblique blow in the ſcuffle, got an unlucky rap on the knuckles: tho' you may thank yourſelf for it, you lay the blame on me; you complain loudly of the injury and the inſult, and proſecute me in an action of aſſault and battery.

This is a true ſtate of my particular caſe, in this inſtance. But indeed, my Lord, it is matter of common complaint, and a real hardſhip upon us free ſubjects of the Republic of Letters in general; that we cannot go on quietly and peaceably in the public road, upon the ordinary buſineſs of our calling, without meeting at every turn a ſturdy bravo, who diſputes our paſſage, claims the highway as his own, and falls upon us with his cudgel, if we do not keep juſt to the track in which he orders us to walk. You give yourſelf out as *Demonſtrator* of *the Divine Legation of Moſes*: this ſubject you look upon as your excluſive property; by what title, I cannot ſay; ſurely not as firſt Occupier; for the Divine Legation of Moſes had been often demonſtrated before; and it would be no preſumption even in a young Student in Theology to undertake to give a better, that is, a more ſatisfactory and irrefragable Demonſtration of it in five pages, than you have done in five volumes. However, in quality of Demonſtrator General of the *Divine Legation*

of

of Moſes, you lay in a further claim as Lord Paramount in all the realms of Science. For *the Divine Legation of Moſes*, it ſeems, contains in it all knowledge divine and human, antient and modern: it treats, as of its proper ſubject, *de omni ſcibili, & de quolibet ente*; it is a perfect Encyclopedia; it includes in itſelf all Hiſtory, Chronology, Criticiſm, Divinity, Law, Politics, from the Law of Moſes down to the late Jew-Bill, and from Egyptian Hieroglyphics to modern Rebus-writing; and to it we are to have recourſe, as to an infallible oracle, for the reſolution of every queſtion in Literature. It is like Lord Peter's brown loaf: it is mutton, and it is beef; it is fiſh, and it is fleſh; it is meat, and it is drink: in it are contained *incluſivè* all the neceſſaries of life; and a dreadful anathema hangs over the head of the unbeliever and gainſayer. For whatever it may pretend in theory; it admits in fact of no tolerance, no intercommunity of various ſentiments, not the leaſt difference of opinion: to diſſent, is a capital offence; to be ſilent, is a criminal reſerve; even to praiſe, unleſs in ſuch high ſtrains of Panegyric as ſhall come up to the full ſtandard of the great Proprietor's extravagant ſelf-eſtimation, argues a malignant *parſimony*, a *diſreſpect*, and an *indignity*[*]: the charge has been openly avowed, and a ſmart correction has been publicly inflicted on the offender. The Demonſtrator of *the Divine Legation* of Moſes *doth* indeed in his pre-

[*] See The Delicacy of Friendſhip; p. 47, 49.

tenſions

tenſions *beſtride the narrow world* of Literature, and hath caſt out his ſhoe over all the regions of Science. He puts me mightily in mind of King PICROCHOLE[f], when he had taken the caſtle of Clermauld; by aſſault indeed, and in all the forms, but without reſiſtance; for the place was open and defenceleſs. Upon this foundation he ſets up for Univerſal Monarchy; he makes an imaginary expedition through Europe, Africa, and Aſia; his three Miniſters, the Duc de Menüail, Count Spadaſſin, and Captain Merdaille, perſuade him, that he is the moſt puiſſant and chivalrous Prince that ever appeared ſince Alexander the Great, and that he has actually conquered all the world: and behold, he frightens the poor Pope out of his wits, and ſeizes his dominions; he vanquiſhes and baptizes Barbaroſſa; he kills and ſlays all the dog Turks and Mahometans; he gives away countries, and diſpoſes of kingdoms; and bounces, bluſters, and ſwaggers, as if he were really ſovereign Lord, and ſole Maſter of the Univerſe.

Having thus ſettled Preliminaries with your Lordſhip, I ſhall proceed directly to the matter in debate between us. And in examining your Anſwer to me, (for ſuch, I ſuppoſe, I may without impropriety call it, though I never queſtioned You about theſe matters at all) I ſhall take your Lordſhip for my guide; and try it by thoſe rules, which You have laid down, by which one may with certainty

[f] Rabelais; Liv. 1, chap. 33.

mark

mark and fix the character and denomination of an Anſwerer. Your Lordſhip, in the Preface to the *Doctrine of Grace*, ſpeaks of a mode of anſwering which conſiſts in *Sophiſtry*, *Buffoonery*, and *Scurrility*. This judicious diſtribution of the ſubject ſuits my purpoſe ſo exactly, that I muſt beg leave to borrow it. I ſhall therefore treat of your Anſwer to me under the Three Heads of *Sophiſtry*, *Buffoonery*, and *Scurrility*; which, with ſome animadverſions on the *Critical* part, towards the concluſion, which is of a character ſomewhat different, will compleatly take in the whole of your Appendix.

Firſt then for the Argumentative, that is, as I ſhall ſhew preſently, the Sophiſtical part of the Appendix. The firſt queſtion is; Whether, under the Patriarchal Government, Idolatry was puniſhed by the Magiſtrate? You hold the Negative; and your firſt argument is taken from the behaviour and character of Abraham. The argument is this: "Abraham interceded for Sodom; therefore Abra-"ham was an Advocate for Toleration." The argument, it muſt be owned, has at firſt ſight a Paradoxical appearance. The two propoſitions lie at leaſt as wide aſunder, as the Omiſſion of a Future State and the Divine Legation of Moſes. We, who are not adepts in that kind of Logic which deduces *quidlibet ex quolibet*, ſhould be a long time contriving how to bring them together. But your Lordſhip does it with all the eaſe in the world. Thus: "Abraham interceded for Sodom; the ſin

"of

" of Sodom was Idolatry; Idolatry is an Opinion; " therefore Abraham was an Advocate for Tole- " ration of Opinions." See there now, how your arguments, which your adverſaries [g] will call *Paradoxes*, turn out at once *plain, ſimple, and convincing!* And here we are obliged to your Lordſhip for quitting the round-about way of demonſtration, and giving us a ſample in the other kind: this now is the conciſe method, in which you give us to underſtand that you can excel, when you have a mind to it; " not only as *ſtrong*, but as *ſhort* too, as any " of Euclid's [h]."

There is one thing however, about which I am in ſome doubt. In your tender concern for me, you are apprehenſive, leſt I ſhould ſeem to repreſent Iſaac as an Idolater convict, and the intolerant Father laying him on the ſacrifical Pile as a kind of Patriarchal *Auto de fe*: however, as you yourſelf think, that ſuch a ſurmiſe would not be quite well founded, I am perfectly eaſy on that head. But ſuppoſe now, ſome ill-minded perſon ſhould give ſuch an invidious turn to Your argument, and inſinuate, that it tends to fix an infamous imputation on the Patriarch's character; for, if in this caſe he was an advocate for Toleration, it muſt have been for a toleration of the crime of Sodom, whatever that might be: now what that crime was, is a matter on all hands ſuppoſed to be very well known; and your putting us off with Idolatry, is only an

[g] Div. Leg. Vol. v; p. 365. [h] Ibid. p. 366.

artful

artful diſguiſe, they will ſay, thrown over your real deſign. Beſides, even this is only changing one unnatural crime for another: for your pretence, that Idolatry is but an Opinion, that the groſs Act of adoration paid to falſe Gods is a mere Speculation; this is ſuch a banter upon reaſon and common ſenſe, that you could never mean it in earneſt. The malicious therefore will be apt to ſay, that the Biſhop's argument for Toleration is all a ſham; and could be intended for nothing elſe but a libel on the good old Patriarch.

Now I have been conſidering of this matter; and there really appear to me ſome circumſtances in it that are a little untoward. If your Lordſhip is well warranted to affirm, that the ſpecific crime, which drew down God's judgments upon Sodom, was Idolatry; (and indeed without the full proof of this point, your argument is no argument at all) you muſt have had your information from Holy Scripture: for in this caſe there is no other evidence to be had, or none in the leaſt worth regarding. Now I have looked from the beginning of the Bible to the end, to ſee if I could find any thing to this purpoſe; but in vain. Beſide the hiſtory of the deſtruction of that City[i], which clearly enough marks the deteſtable crime for which it was deſtroyed, and ſome other paſſages[k] confirming the ſame thing; Sodom is often introduced as an image to expreſs either the ſeverity of God's judgments in the utter

[i] Gen. xix. [k] Iſaiah iii, 9. Ezek. xvi; 49, 50. Jude 7.

deſtruction of abandoned ſinners, or the height of vice and iniquity in general, without relation to the particular kind of it: nor can I find one place, where Sodom is charged with the crime of Idolatry. And as to the other medium of proof, that Idolatry is an Opinion; I muſt own, I am not able to make it out cleverly. But when your Lordſhip ſhall be pleaſed to reſume the queſtion, and treat it in the round-about method of demonſtration, which after all is Your *fort*, theſe difficulties will all vaniſh; and, I dare ſay, from the ſimple poſition, Abraham interceded for Sodom, you will be able not only to deduce the above-mentioned conſequence, but moreover, and full as well too, any given concluſion whatſoever.

However, my Lord, there is another remark, which I could ſuggeſt, that would entirely obviate this invidious inſinuation; but then unfortunately it will at the ſame time wholly overthrow your argument. It is this: it appears plainly from the narrative of Moſes, that Abraham's exception to God's dealing with Sodom was not from an opinion of the undue rigour and ſeverity of it, but from a ſcruple ſolely reſpecting the juſtice of God in deſtroying the righteous together with the wicked. His concern was not for the wicked, but for the righteous: he interceded for the wicked merely for the ſake of the righteous; and cannot properly be ſaid to have interceded for the wicked on their own account at all. So that Abraham's interceſſion had

no

no relation to the particular crime, to the kind or the meaſure of guilt, of the offenders. To inquire therefore, whether it were the one or the other of the two unnatural crimes here meant; or whether the one or the other of them has moſt the nature of a Speculative Opinion, which might be a hard matter clearly to determine: this would be nothing at all to the purpoſe. The only ſpeculative point, that Abraham's thoughts were engaged in, was, Whether it was agreeable to God's juſtice to involve the righteous and the wicked together in the ſame judicial deſtruction? This is the only queſtion, that ariſes from Moſes's plain ſtate of the caſe; and this is totally foreign to the preſent ſubject of debate.

But, I have not yet done with this argument: it is ſo curious a one, that it deſerves to be examined on all ſides. And here I ſhall look back a little, to obſerve how you uſher it in: and, now I am about it, I ſhall take my retroſpect from your firſt paragraph.

Your Lordſhip ſets out with ſaying, that I BEG THE QUESTION. Now as to this matter; any of our Readers will be as able, as You or I, to judge, whether I *beg* the queſtion, or only *propoſe* it? and to their judgment I ſhall therefore leave it. Yet I cannot but take notice, how ſoon you betray your diſtreſs in this diſpute. This formidable objection you place in the van of your forces; and in truth it has as much ſtrength in it, as any part of the whole corps: but behold, before you have advanced much beyond the middle of the paragraph, you

grow aſhamed of it, deſert it, and ſurrender it at diſcretion.

In the next place, your Lordſhip is pleaſed to be merry with the old Patriarchs. But this part, however deficient in Logic, I ſhall paſs by at preſent: it belongs rather to my Second Head. You then betake yourſelf to what you yourſelf call[1] one of "the ſmall arts of controverſy;" that is, "diſ-"honouring perſons by putting them into ill com-"pany." Thus, ſay you, "Atheiſts and Divines "are well paired" by Lord Bolingbroke: and thus, ſay I, "Hobbes and our Profeſſor" are as well matched by your Lordſhip. This, I obſerve, is quite a Common-place with you. Juſt now while I am writing, chancing to dip in one of your volumes[m], I find you treat a learned Profeſſor of Cambridge in the very ſame manner. Hobbes and the Profeſſor go hand in hand together, as if they were ſworn brothers; and a few pages farther on, I ſee the ſame Gentleman is got in company with "Toland, Tindal, Collins, and the whole tribe of "Free-thinkers[n]." You have, it ſeems, a ſet of Names always at hand, a kind of infamous Liſt, or black Calendar, where every offender is ſure to find a nich ready to receive him: nothing ſo eaſy as the application, and ſlight provocation is ſufficient. A Gentleman, juſtly reſpectable on account of his very eminent genius and learning, and ſtill more

[1] View of Bolingbroke's Philoſophy, p. 137.
[m] Div. Leg. Vol. IV; p. 272. [n] Ibid. p. 309.

reſpect-

reſpectable in his moral character; whoſe Name, for certain other reaſons alſo, you have done very prudently not to diſcloſe, either by expreſs mention, or by reference: this very worthy perſon chanced to drop an expreſſion concerning Polemic Divinity, which You allow to be innocent and free from all malice, yet thought it looked a little diſreſpectfully towards a Profeſſion in which You make ſo great a figure: you therefore took the firſt opportunity of falling upon him, as if he had been guilty of Blaſphemy: you treated him as an ignorant ſmall-dealer in ſecond-hand ridicule, and ſtrung him up in public, as a Scoffer at things ſacred, with Collins, Tindal, Shafteſbury, and Bolingbroke.[o]

But, to return to Hobbes and our Profeſſor: for my part, my Lord, I have no ſort of objection to Mr Hobbes's company, provided he behave decently and properly, and talk like a learned and a ſenſible man; and I had as lief ſay a thing after him as after another, provided the thing be true. And really Hobbes was a man of great learning and abilities: You Yourſelf[p] have done him the juſtice to ſpeak of him, as "one of the firſt men of his age "for a bright wit, a deep penetration, and a cul-"tivated underſtanding;" and I have remarked (what had indeed occurred to me in reading him before I ſaw your remark) that "Mr Locke re-

[o] See *Doctrine of Grace*, p. 309.

[p] WARBURTON's Miſcellaneous Tranſlations in Proſe and Verſe, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Hiſtorians. London, 1724; 12mo. See p. 123.

"ceived

" ceived no ſmall aſſiſtance from Mr Hobbes's no-
" tions." But after all; how is it that I and my friend Hobbes (who agree ſo well *in eodem tertio*, " in not having been bred up in the Principles of " Toleration," and are ſo fitly yoked together) concur in ſentiment ſo lovingly? I ſay, that Abraham had a right to reſtrain his Family from Idolatry, from a ſpecies of Falſe Worſhip condemned by Natural Religion, and productive of infinite Corruptions both religious and moral: Hobbes, as you quote him, " holds, that Abraham had a right to " preſcribe to his Family, what Religion they " ſhould be of;" that is, whether true or falſe, for here is no limitation. So that it appears at laſt, that there juſt as much difference between Hobbes and our Profeſſor upon this point, as there is between a right of impoſing upon another a Falſe Religion, and a right of reſtraining another from practices of a Falſe Religion in themſelves immoral and ſinful.

And now for your argument from Abraham's conduct, at large, and in your own words. " But " God ſpeaking of Abraham, ſays, *I know that he* " *will command his children and his houſhold after him,* " *and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord*, &c. Gen. " xviii, 19. And Hobbes and our *Profeſſor*, I ſuppoſe, regard this declaration as a clear proof of " the divine doctrine of RESTRAINT in matters of " Religion; eſpecially when interpreted by *their* " *darling text* of —— *Force them to enter in.* On " the contrary, thoſe who have been bred up in " the

" the Principles of *Toleration*, hold it to be a mere
" teſtimony ( a glorious one indeed ) of Abraham's
" pious and parental care to INSTRUCT his family
" in the Law of God. And it is well, it can go
" for no more, or I ſhould fear the learned Profeſ-
" ſor would have brought in Iſaac as a backſlider
" to Idolatry ; and his Father's laying him on the
" ſacrifical Pile, as a kind of Auto de fe. Now,
" except in theſe two places of Abraham's Hiſtory,
" of ſuch wonderful force to ſupport *intolerant*
" principles, the Patriarch appears in all others ſo
" averſe to this inquiſitorial ſpirit, that where God
" comes down to deſtroy Sodom, the *Father of the*
" *Faithful* intercedes, with the utmoſt importunity,
" for that *idolatrous* as well as inceſtuous City. The
" truth is this, The uſurped right of puniſhing for
" opinions, was firſt aſſumed and long ingroſſed
" by Idolaters. And, if tradition may be believed,
" Abraham himſelf narrowly eſcaped the *Fire* for
" preaching againſt its Divinity [p]."

" The inſolence, the fraud, the nonſenſe of this
" paſſage [q]." —— I beg pardon, my Lord; I have been juſt reading in the Notes to *Divine Legation*, and ere I was aware have fallen into the ſame language.

[p] Appendix, Div. Leg. Vol. VI p. 412, 413.

[q] Divine Legation, Vol. V. p. 19. The very learned and ingenious Perſon, of whom this decent language is uſed, is the Rev. Mr PETERS. I mention his name, becauſe the Readers of *Divine Legation* will hardly know it from thence; where he paſſes by the ſtyle and title of the *Corviſh Critic*. What the true meaning and import of this title may be, I cannot ſay. I ſuppoſe it may allude to ſome Proverbial ſaying

language. I meant to ſay, that I muſt beg leave to point out, in the foregoing paſſage, the candid reflections, the imputed principles, and the ingenious conſequence from the Profeſſor's ſuppoſed way of reaſoning with regard to the important point of the Sacrifice of Iſaac: and to obſerve, how artfully the foreign term *Idolatrous* ſlides into the main argument; and with what eaſe the tranſition is made to *Opinions*; which term, though it could not well appear in the main argument, yet is brought up by way of reinforcement in the rear. "The uſurped "right of puniſhing for opinions," ſays your Lordſhip, "was firſt aſſumed by Idolaters." It may be ſo; but what this has to do with the Profeſſor, who maintains no ſuch right, I do not ſee: however, you cite an antient Tradition to prove it. As you think proper to produce this Tradition in evidence; I ſuppoſe, it muſt be of ſome weight and well ſupported. And I find it is ſo: it is delivered by a great number of authors, and has been as univerſally received as any thing of the kind perhaps ever was. It prevailed throughout the Eaſt; it was adopted by Mahomet[r]; Maimonides records it[s],

ing relating to Cornwall, perhaps like that of the Jews, equally falſe, concerning Galilee; that out of Cornwall ariſeth no Critic: but this is mere conjecture; I have never heard of any ſuch Proverb. I was thinking of explaining it by another common ſaying; but then the title would imply a commendation, and, what is worſe, would have too great a propriety. Every one has heard of a *Corniſh Hug*; which, if a man has once felt it to the purpoſe, he will be ſore of as long as he lives.

[r] See Sale's Koran, Chap. xxi, p. 268.

[s] De Idololatria; Cap. 1, Sect. vii, viii. Edit. Dionyſ. Voſſii.

with

with many other Jewiſh Writers; and the Eaſtern Chriſtians[t] regarded it ſo far, as even to ſet apart the 25th of January (which appears by the Syrian Calendar) in commemoration of Abraham's being caſt into the fire, and miraculouſly eſcaping from it. Let us then ſee, what this Tradition ſays; and let us have the whole of it; for your Lordſhip has reported it very imperfectly, and without referring to any author. Now I ſhall venture to cite, upon this occaſion, the very learned HYDE; although You, with that contempt and indignity, with which you treat the greateſt and moſt reſpectable names in the Republic of Letters, if they happen to diſpleaſe you, have placed him at the head of "a rabble of "lying Orientaliſts[u]." His ſummary account of the matter is as follows[w]: "Quòd autem Abra-"hamus cum Chaldæis acriter contendebat de Re-"ligione, eſt proclive creditu: & præterea Hiſto-"rici, tam alii Orientales, quàm Judæi, id unani-"miter affirmant & multis exponunt. Tradunt "enim Abrahamum omni Idololatriæ ſe acriter "oppoſuiſſe, & cum omnibus ejuſdem falſi cultûs "Aſſeclis, etiam Magnatibus, contendiſſe; eò uſ-"que dum apud Regem (qui ſupradictus *Nimrod*) "accuſatus & acriter objurgatus fuit: & cum ſæpe "admonitus noluit abſtinere, in carcerem & tan-"dem in foveam ignis conjectus eſt." And the

[t] See Sale's Notes on the Koran, ibid.
[u] Doctrine of Grace, p. 324.
[w] De Relig. Vet. Perſ. Cap. 2. p. 69.

Arabic, Perſic, and Jewiſh Writers relate in particular[x], that he threw down and brake to pieces the Images, and burned the Temples, of the Idolaters. You ſeem to approve of Abraham's behaviour on this occaſion, by repreſenting him as ſuffering unjuſtly for it: and though he did ſomething more than preach the true Religion, yet I ſhould think, that the breaking to pieces of Idols, and the burning of Temples, come within the definition of a mere ſpeculative opinion, as much as the acts of Adoration and Sacrifice in an Idol Temple. Now all this was while he was yet in Chaldea, a country where Idolatry was the eſtabliſhed worſhip; himſelf a private perſon, and ſubject to the laws of his country, and to his rightful prince; yet in oppoſition to all earthly authority, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to extirpate Idolatry, and to introduce the true Religion. And would You have the ſame Abraham, when free from theſe reſtraints, and ruling his own people, ſit ſtill and ſupinely ſuffer the introduction of Idol worſhip into his own family, and among his own dependents? All that I would require of him is, that in this new ſituation, and under additional obligations of duty, he ſhould exert equal zeal in the ſame cauſe, which he might now do with greater propriety; and as a governor prevent the introduction of that falſe worſhip, from which even as a private man he (according to the Tradition cited by your Lordſhip) ſo laudably and

[x] See Sale's Koran; p. 268: Hyde, ibid. p. 69, 71, 72: Maimonides, ibid.

merito-

meritoriouſly endeavoured to reclaim his countrymen.

So much for your Lordſhip's firſt argument. I proceed now to your ſecond; which lies a good deal more open and unembarraſſed, and will give me much leſs trouble. This too ariſes from a piece of Hiſtory *: Jacob and his Family depart from Laban. Rachel ſteals away her Father's Gods, and carries them off. The old man follows and overtakes them, and complains of the theft. Jacob, to give all poſſible ſatisfaction, permits him to ſearch the whole company, and among the reſt his wife Rachel, of whom he has not the leaſt ſuſpicion. Rachel by a female ſtratagem conceals the Gods, and the theft remains undiſcovered. And what, in the name of wonder, has this to do with Jacob's having, or not having, a right to puniſh Idolatry? Oh, ſay you, "Rachel contrived to keep her Fa-"ther's Gods, for no better purpoſe, *we may be* "*ſure*, than that for which the good man employed "ſo much pains to recover them." Soft and fair, my Lord; not quite ſo ſure neither: no begging of the queſtion, I beſeech you. You cried out upon me juſt now, before you had the leaſt reaſon to be alarmed; and now you make no ſcruple of availing yourſelf of this poor fallacy in the moſt open manner. Unleſs you are abſolutely ſure, unleſs you prove beyond all doubt, that Rachel ſtole her Father's Gods for Idolatrous purpoſes; this whole caſe

* Gen. xxxi.

is totally foreign to the point in queſtion: and has no more to do with Idolatry, than it has with murder or inceſt; or even than the laſt caſe, which you brought, had to do with it. And pray, my Lord, how came You to be ſo ſure of Rachel's deſign? Moſes has not given the leaſt hint of it: and in ſuch a caſe, what ſignify the conjectures of his Expoſitors? However, conjecture they will; and their conjectures, as one may well expect, are various and contradictory. Some ſay [z], that ſhe took away her Father's Idols, leſt by conſulting them he ſhould find out which way they had fled: others [a], that ſhe ſtole them merely for the value of the gold and ſilver, of which they were made. Joſephus ſays [b], ſhe took them not to worſhip them, "for her huſ-"band had taught her to deſpiſe ſuch worſhip of "falſe Gods; but that, if her Father ſhould over-"take them, ſhe might betake herſelf to theſe Idols "for protection, and by their means obtain for-"giveneſs." Others ſuppoſe [c], that out of her great zeal againſt Idolatry ſhe deprived her Father of his Idols, to prevent his continuing in that practice; and to draw him from it, by making him ſenſible of the weakneſs of his Gods, who could not preſerve themſelves. Others [d] again on the con-

[z] R. Eliezer, Aben Ezra, Ben. Nachman, De Muis, Menochius, &c.

[a] Aſterius, Pererius, Oſiander, &c.

[b] Antiq. Lib. 1, cap. 9.

[c] Baſil. Hom. xii 12 in Princip. Proverb. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 42. & Nicetas in loc. Theodoret. &c.

[d] Chryſoſtom. Corn. a Lapide, Mercerus, Rivetus, &c.

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trary think, that ſhe deſigned to make the ſame uſe of them herſelf, that her Father had done. Of theſe uncertain conjectures it is hard to determine which is the moſt probable; but it not hard to determine, which is the moſt improbable of them all: for to that preeminence the laſt, which your Lordſhip has adopted, has much the faireſt claim: not only becauſe, as you obſerved yourſelf, when you thought it ſomething for your purpoſe to make the obſervation [e], "that Jacob took care to inſtruct "his Wives in the true Religion;" but alſo becauſe it plainly appears from the preceding Chapter [f], that Rachel, in particular, was a ſerious and faithful Worſhippet of Jehovah, the true and only God; a ſtrong preſumption at leaſt in her favour, that ſhe was not at this time addicted to any Idolatrous practices. And ſo, what becomes now of your Lordſhip's argument?

But let us ſee how you will manage it, ſuppoſing we allow you all you want; the very point, which you ſhould have proved, but took for granted at firſt. Be it ſo then: Rachel ſtole her Father's Gods, with a deſign to worſhip them. Search was made, and nothing at all was diſcovered: not even the theft, much leſs the Idolatry, which was the ſecret motive, and in time to be the conſequence of the theft. So, as far as I can ſee, we are not a whit the wiſer, or the nearer to the reſolution of the queſ-

[e] Div. Leg. Vol. V. p. 76. [f] Gen. xxx; 22—24.

tion,

tion, Whether Idolatry was puniſhed by the Patriarchs, or not. Rachel, you ſay, was not puniſhed for Idolatry: I anſwer, She was never proved guilty of it. But Jacob did not even denounce condemnation on the offender, for the Idolatrous intention, if it ſhould be found out: I anſwer, that it does not appear, that he had the leaſt ſuſpicion of any ſuch intention. He certainly did not ſuſpect his beſt-beloved wife Rachel: this is plain from his anſwer to Laban, *With whomſoever thou findeſt thy Gods, let him not live.* Let us ſee now how the caſe plainly ſtands, and how your argument ariſes from it. Rachel was not burnt alive, nor in any way puniſhed, by the ſentence of her huſband the Patriarch Jacob, for Idolatry; of which ſhe was neither convicted, nor accuſed, nor ſo much as ſuſpected: therefore Idolatry was not puniſhed by the Patriarchs. A Highwayman eſcapes hanging in England, being never proved guilty, never committed, never found out: therefore there is no law in England againſt robbery on the highway. Why, my Lord, even that zealous aſſertor of juſtice, and voluntary executor of law, the Mob, never diſciplines a pick-pocket, unleſs caught in the fact; and do You ſuppoſe, that I take the Patriarchs for ſuch intolerant zealots, as to condemn their people to the fire for Idolatry upon the leaſt ſuſpicion, and even upon no ſuſpicion at all? Oh but, ſay you, 'Rachel *to be ſure* was guilty of Idolatrous intentions; and *to be ſure*, ſhe would ſoon put her intentions in practice; and *to be ſure*, ſuch practices

'from

'from their nature could not be long hid; and *to*
'*be ſure*, if ſhe had been puniſhed for it, the Scrip-
'ture would have taken notice of it: therefore,
'the ſilence of Scripture ſhews it to have been *co-*
'*ram non judice*. Q. E. D.' My Lord, I beg leave to ſuggeſt a ſmall emendation of what I ſuppoſe to be an error of the preſs, in the Concluſion of your Demonſtration; for *coram non judice*, read, *non coram judice*: that is the plain truth of the matter; and that, I promiſe you, is all that you will ever be able to make of it.

We have ſeen that the two firſt caſes, which you have produced from the Patriarchal Hiſtory, are not at all to the purpoſe: the third caſe, which immediately follows, is indeed very much ſo; and quite determines the queſtion —— againſt your Lordſhip. It is no uncommon thing for an experienced Polemic, when he is diſtreſſed by an untoward text, that lies in open view, full in the face of the Reader, and juſt acroſs his argument, to ſlip it out of ſight, and convey it away, and keep it under cover with as much dexterity and ſlight of hand, as a Juggler employs with his cups and balls. But here, all is fair and above board; the caſe is plainly laid before us; and we have nothing to do, but to ſee which way it tends, and what is the conſequence directly reſulting from it. "Jacob at Bethel, in pious emula-
"tion of his Grand-father's *care to keep the way of the*
"*Lord*, commanded[s] *his houſhold, and all that were*

[s] Gen. xxxv. 2.

"*with*

" *with him, to put away the ſtrange Gods from among* " *them.*" Now let us ſee your deduction from it. " They obeyed, all was well; and not a word of " *puniſhing by the Judge.*" Puniſhing, my Lord! for what, I beſeech you? For putting away the ſtrange Gods, as they were commanded to do? Juſt now you were for having poor Rachel puniſhed, for nothing at all but your own ſuſpicions; here you go ſtill further, and expect that the people ſhould be puniſhed even for their Obedience. " They obeyed, and all was well." But, ſuppoſe they had not obeyed; would all have been well then? A Command iſſued by a Superior, in an authoritative manner, and in due form, plainly implies a right, and a power, and a will, to inforce obedience to the command: the Patriarch iſſues a Command againſt Idolatry; therefore the Patriarch had a right, and a power, to puniſh Idolatry; and would have puniſhed it in thoſe, whom he ſhould have found guilty of the crime.

Here then is the example required: and thus ſtands the Fact atteſted by Sacred Hiſtory. Jacob, a Ruler of a Tribe, aſſumes, as ſuch, a power of reſtraining and prohibiting, and conſequently of puniſhing, Idolatry. He forbids not only the public worſhip, but the private uſe, and ſecret poſſeſſion, of Idols: the people acknowledge this power by immediately obeying his command, by ſurrendering to him their Idols, and every other mark and adjunct of falſe worſhip: and I add, that his

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duty [h] and engagements to God, his ſituation amongſt nations addicted to the groſſeſt Idolatries, and the diſpoſition of his own people, inclined to Idolatry, (as appears by their having theſe abominations in their hands) ſufficiently juſtify him in aſſuming and exerciſing ſuch a power.

The three preceding arguments are built upon a very extraordinary principle, quite of your own invention; namely, That clear proof ariſes from a total want of evidence. How greatly is the learned World obliged to your Lordſhip for the curious diſcoveries, which you are perpetually communicating; New Canons of Logic, as well as New Canons of Criticiſm!

After two paragraphs, one of the Ludicrous, the other of the Scurrilous kind, which I reſerve therefore for my Second and Third Heads; your Lordſhip proceeds to hint, or refer to, rather than to draw out in form, an argument of another ſort. "As theſe Patriarchs *did not de facto* (which appears from their hiſtory) ſo they *could not de jure* (which appears from the laws of Nature and Nations) *puniſh Idolatry by the Judge.*"

We have ſeen how the Fact ſtands, as it appears from their Hiſtory: and I muſt obſerve, that the proof of the Fact is ſufficient for my purpoſe, without the juſtification of it. The true Job, or rather the Author of the Poem of Job, equal or prior in

[h] See Gen. xxviii; 20—22.

time to Moſes, might expreſs what was the received opinion and practice of his age, however iniquitous that opinion and practice might be: he might ſpeak of Idolatry as puniſhed by the Judge[1], though the Judges of that age might exceed their commiſſion in puniſhing it. But as I think, not only that the Patriarchs did exerciſe their authority in reſtraining Idolatrous Worſhip, but that they might alſo do it without being ſuch inquiſitors and perſecutors as You would in that caſe repreſent them to have been; I ſhall conſider your argument from the Laws of Nature and Nations, and ſee what may be pleaded in their behalf upon thoſe principles.

I ſhall conſider the Law of Nature and the Law of Nations with regard to this caſe diſtinctly. "Ido-"latry," you ſay, "is not puniſhable by the Law "of Nations." Granted: one Nation has no right to puniſh another Nation for Idolatry; for one Nation has no juriſdiction over another Nation, nor any right to puniſh, but what ariſes from the right of ſelf-preſervation and ſelf-defence. Jacob therefore, as head of a tribe or nation, had no right to invade another tribe or nation, becauſe they were Idolaters: the Iſraelites would have had no right to extirpate the Canaanites for Idolatry, unleſs they

[1] Job xxxi, 28. I do not enter into a Critical examination of this Text, which many learned men explain otherwiſe; as not implying any Judicial Puniſhment. The preſent queſtion proceeds upon the ſenſe given in our Tranſlation; which ſeems the moſt obvious, and therefore is perhaps the moſt probable.

had

had been impowered by a ſpecial commiſſion from God for that purpoſe.

Again; "Idolatry," you ſay, "is not puniſh-"able by the Law of Nature." This is not quite ſo clear. Idolatry is a crime againſt the Light of Nature, and therefore againſt the Law of Nature. That the Idolatry in queſtion, the antient Heathen Idolatry, was ſuch, I prove from St Paul. "That "which may be known of God (ſays the Apoſtle[k]) "is manifeſt in them, (the Gentiles;) for God "hath ſhewed it unto them. For the inviſible "things of him from the creation of the world are "clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that "are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; "ſo that they are without excuſe: becauſe that "when they knew God, they glorified him not as "God; but —— changed the glory of the un-"corruptible God into an image made like to cor-"ruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed "beaſts, and creeping things." And the Analogy between the crime and the puniſhment of it, which the Apoſtle urges with great force and elegance, ariſes from this very conſideration, that their Idolatry was a crime againſt the Law of Nature. God, who cauſeth the wicked "to eat of the fruit of "their own way, and to be filled with their own "devices," puniſhed theſe Sinners, ſo ſtupidly undiſcerning in reſpect to His Nature, with a mind as ſtupidly undiſcerning in reſpect of their own. As,

[k] Rom. 1; 19—23.

againſt the light of their reaſon, they had changed the glory of God into a lie; ſo, as much againſt the ſame light, they were given up to belie their own nature: as they unnaturally turned God into a beaſt, ſo they turned themſelves by unnatural abuſes into worſe than beaſts. The ſame Apoſtle [1] reckons Idolatry, the ſame Heathen Idolatry, among *the works of the fleſh*; "Adultery, fornication, uncleanneſs, laſciviouſneſs, *idolatry* —— and ſuch like." And Mr Locke [2], making the ſame enumeration, which I have here expreſſed, from the Apoſtle, calls them all together "*Immoralities*, unbecoming the name of a Chriſtian, and ſuch as ought to be rooted out." I ſhall add but one authority more, upon a point clear enough in itſelf; and it ſhall be one, which I am ſure you will allow to be beyond all exception, that is, your own. In this very Volume [3], you ſpeak of antient Heathen Idolatry, as a ſpecies of *Immorality*. And I the rather think this to be your real opinion, and true judgment upon the caſe, becauſe you give it by way of example and illuſtration, without any immediate view of ſerving a cauſe; notwithſtanding that juſt now, in the preceding page of the Appendix [4], for the ſake of your argument, you oppoſed Civil Crimes and Immoralities to Idolatry, as of a nature totally different. The Idolatry then in queſtion being an Immorality, and a crime againſt the Law of

[1] Gal. v; 19, 20.

[2] Letter concerning Toleration, p. 34. Edit. 1765. 4to.

[3] Vol. v. p. 365.

[4] P. 414.

Nature;

Nature; it ſhould ſeem, that it is puniſhable by the Law of Nature.

But, that this matter may ſtand in a ſtill clearer light; I ſhall bring it forward, and purſue it one ſtep further. The Law of Nature may be conſidered as operating either in a State of Nature, or in a State of Civil Society. Idolatry in a State of Nature is a crime againſt the Law of Nature: but in a State of Nature one man is to another, as one independent nation is to another; one man has no right to hurt another, except in the caſe of ſelf-defence; in the repulſion, the prevention, or the reparation, of injuries. The right of executing the Law of Nature, by puniſhing crimes committed againſt it, which belongs to every man in a State of Nature, cannot be properly exerted in the reſtraining of crimes, which are indirectly and by remote conſequence only detrimental to the community; for every private perſon cannot be ſuppoſed to be a proper judge of ſuch conſequences. Idolatry therefore in a State of Nature, though a crime againſt the Law of Nature, muſt yet be left to the judgment of God; ſeeing there is no human juriſdiction, which can properly interpoſe to reſtrain it.

But in a State of Civil Society, which is ſuppoſed in this queſtion, this defect is ſupplied: the Civil Law is ſuperinduced, and comes in aid of the Natural Law; and puts it in execution in many inſtances, in which it could not be executed before. The Magiſtrate becomes "the miniſter of God, an

"avenger

" avenger to execute wrath upon every one that " doeth evil;" upon every vice, every immorality, every crime againſt the Law of Nature; as far as it may have a pernicious effect upon Civil Society, and as far as it can come under his Cogniſance. The Legiſlative Power is the only proper judge to determine, what vices are ſo pernicious to Civil Society, as not to be ſafely overlooked; and what vices are in their nature ſo capable of proof, as to be properly cogniſable by the Civil Magiſtrate. The Idolatry then in queſtion, as a crime againſt the Law of Nature, of the firſt magnitude, of the moſt peſtilential influence, a crime open, notorious, and capable of legal conviction, is a proper object of his animadverſion. " The worſhipping of Idols," ſays the Author of the Book of Wiſdom [p], " is the be- " ginning, the cauſe, and the end, of all evil:" and the horrible conſequences, which he there lays to its charge, are abundantly verified by the authority of Holy Scripture, and by the teſtimony of all Hiſtory, Profane as well as Sacred. You tell us, that " it is not amenable to civil Juſtice;" that before the Magiſtrate " it is *coram non judice*;" and that puniſhing for Idolatry is " puniſhing for *Opi-* " *nions*." When you were arguing againſt Lord Bolingbroke you ſeem to have conſidered this matter in another light, and to have entertained a different opinion of it; and, what is more, you ſupported your opinion with a good reaſon. Your

[p] Wiſd. xiv, 27. See alſo Lev. xviii; 21—25. Deut. xviii; 10—12. Rom. i; 26—32.

words

words are these[q]: "But he (Lord Bolingbroke) "should have considered, that the LAW all along "distinguishes between the crimes capable of legal "conviction, and such as were inscrutable to all "but Omniscience. The latter God reserves for "his own Inquisition: but the crime in question "was *an overt-act of Idolatrous Worship*, and *there-* "*fore* came *reasonably and equitably* before the Civil "Tribunal." You indeed mean here the Mosaic Law, and the Civil Tribunal under the Mosaic Government; but the force of your reasoning extends to every Law, and to every Civil Government, upon the face of the earth.

I see, your Lordship treats of this matter more at large in another place[r]; to which, I suppose, you would here refer us. I have examined it attentively; but find as little satisfaction there, as you give me here: for your whole reasoning there is built upon the same fallacy, with which you begin and end upon this subject here; namely, that Idolatrous Worship is no more than a mere Speculative Opinion. Your distinction of Idolatry into matter of Conscience and matter of Convenience, has no good foundation, and is of very little use. To the objection, that the rights of Conscience are in their nature such, that they cannot be surrendered; and "that no contract to give them up can be bind-"ing;" (an objection, which strongly affects your

[q] View of Bolingbroke's Philosophy; 3d Edit. p. 187.
[r] Div. Leg. Book v; Sect. 2.

position,

poſition, that Idolatry was juſtly puniſhable by the Moſaic Law and by no other, and which merits a good anſwer;) you reply, by affirming it to be "*a* "*plain and deciſive fact*, that none of all the Idola- "trous Worſhip the Jews ever fell into was matter "of Conſcience." You call that *a plain fact*, which is not *a fact*, but a mere empty *ſpeculation*; and ſo far from *plain*, that it is neither at firſt ſight probable, nor in its nature capable of proof: you take upon you peremptorily to *decide* a queſtion, which can be *decided* by no one, but God alone; and your aſſerting, without any authority, "that God fore- "knew that the caſe would not happen," is only one more large ſtride in preſumption. But there is another point, upon which you lay a greater ſtreſs, and which therefore I ſhall examine more particularly. You ſay, "that Civil Society muſt have one "particular, diſtinct, and appropriated end; and "that this end can be no other than ſecurity to the "temporal liberty or property of man;" and 'that 'any attainable good, that it is accidentally capable 'of producing, is not the legitimate buſineſs of 'Civil Society.' Allowing your poſition in its full force, it may indeed follow, that the Civil Magiſtrate is not under an obligation to puniſh every Immorality; but it does by no means follow, that he has not a right to puniſh any but ſuch as are direct breaches of the peace, and infringements of liberty or property: for there are many Immoralities, which, tho' they do not immediately affect liberty or property, yet are inconſiſtent with public decency,

cy, and public order, with the well-being and general good of the State; and therefore punishable by the Magistrate. This Mr Locke admits; to whose authority you refer us [s], for the principle above-mentioned. "The assistance the Magistrate's "authority can give to the true religion, says he [t], "is in the subduing of *lusts*, in its being directed "against *pride*, injustice, rapine, *luxury*, and *de-"bauchery*, and those other immoralities, which "come properly under his cognisance, and may be "corrected by punishments; and not by the im-"posing of creeds and ceremonies." Again [u]: "Here then the Magistrates assistance is wanting: "here they may and ought to interpose their power, "and by severities against *drunkenness*, *lasciviousness*, "*and all sorts of debauchery*; by a steady and un-"relaxed punishment of all the ways of fraud and "injustice; and by their administration, counte-"nance, and example, reduce *the irregularities of "men's manners* into order, and bring *sobriety*, "peaceableness, and industry, and honesty, into "fashion. This is their proper business every "where: and for this they have a commission from "God, both by the light of nature and revelation." This interposition of the Magistrate, for the punishment of Immoralities in general, Mr Locke did not think inconsistent with what he had before laid down [w]; "that the whole jurisdiction of the Ma-

[s] Div. Leg. Book ii, Sect. 5.
[t] Third Letter on Toleration, p. 329. [u] Ibid.
[w] Letter concerning Toleration, p. 36.

" giſtrate reaches only to theſe civil concernments," (namely, life, liberty, and property,) " and that " all civil power, right, and dominion is bounded " and confined to the only care of promoting theſe " things." But You perſiſt in urging this general principle, in its utmoſt rigour and without limitation. " The end of the Civil Conſtitution of the " Jews," ſay you, " was the ſame with all other; " namely, ſecurity to men's temporal liberty and " property." Would you infer, that therefore it could not puniſh any immorality, but what was a direct invaſion of liberty or property? Or will you wink ſo hard, as not to ſee immoralities in the old Heathen Idolatry? But, " *the ſupport of morality*," you ſay, " is an adulterate gloſs, to juſtify the ini- " quitous practice of puniſhing for *opinions:*" that is, the power of the Magiſtrate has been, and may be, abuſed; and therefore it ought not to be exerciſed at all.

But with regard to the power of the Magiſtrate, in inforcing ſeveral duties, whether of imperfect or perfect obligation, and correcting the evils that ariſe from the breach of them; and in puniſhing immoralities indirectly affecting either private perſons or the public; in which there is really ſome difficulty from the innate defects of Civil Society: this matter we ſhall be able to clear up much better by having recourſe to the Principles of the *Alliance between Church and State*; of which *Convention*, by the way, though ſo *famous*, I dare ſay, Mr Locke ne-

ver

ver heard a word; for if he had, he would certainly have had ſomething to ſay to it. Once upon a time then, the Patriarchal Church met the Patriarchal State, by appointment: a ſolemn Congreſs was held in due form; and, after much adroit negotiation, and no ſmall political refinement, on one ſide and on the other, matters were at laſt adjuſted, and a Treaty of Alliance happily concluded between them. The Original Charter, or Record, of this antient Alliance between the Patriarchal Church and State is laid up in the ſame Archive with that of the later Alliance between the Chriſtian Church and State; of which your Lordſhip has given us the hiſtory at large: and whoever will but take the pains to examine and collate the two Records, will find the latter to be an exact Copy or Counterpart of the former. Now, by the Terms of the Alliance, it appears, that the Church has *a Coactive Power* FOR REFORMATION OF MANNERS. If it be aſked, how the Church came by it; it is anſwered, that the Church received this power or juriſdiction from the State. (See Grants of State to Church; Article III.) The State then was originally poſſeſſed of this Coactive Power for Reformation of Manners, in as full and ample manner as the Church enjoyed it afterwards; or how could the State make a Grant of it to the Church? Certainly. Why then would the State part with it? For ſome people may be inclined to think, that the State might as well have kept it ſtill in her own hands, and never

have

have made a Grant of it to the Church at all. Oh, but it is much more fitly placed in the hands of the Church; for when the Church hath prepared the ſubject for its due application and reception, a Coactive Power of the Civil kind, intruſted to the Church, may be applied to good purpoſe; but not till then. How your Lordſhip would apply this Coactive Power to good purpoſe in the preſent ſyſtem of affairs; I leave to you, or whom it may concern, to conſider; be that as it may, the Patriarchal Church being as well provided with the ſame *Coactive Power* FOR REFORMATION OF MANNERS, and having come by it as fairly and honeſtly, by gift or loan from the Patriarchal State; I only propoſe, that the Patriarchal Church ſhould apply it to a very good purpoſe, namely, for her own Preſervation, and for the ſervice of the State, and only ſo far as is abſolutely neceſſary for this purpoſe. I would have no application of fire and faggot; no capital puniſhment; no propagating of eſtabliſhed Religion by force; no impoſing of modes of faith, opinions, or ceremonies; rather the prevention than the puniſhment of crimes, nor even ſo much the Reformation of Manners as the Preſervation of them in their preſent ſtate of purity. In ſhort, I would have her employ her power only in hindering the importation of foreign Immoralities; particularly in excluding a ſpecies of Idolatry, not only highly immoral in itſelf, but moreover attended with a train of the groſſeſt impurities, and the moſt abominable

abominable vices, that ever diſgraced human nature: which, if once admitted, would totally deſtroy the ſaid Patriarchal Church, and ſpread likewiſe a moral corruption through the Patriarchal State; which no Coactive Power whatſoever, in whatever hands it might be placed, would afterwards be able to eradicate.

Before I have done with your Lordſhip's argumentation, in the place[x] above-mentioned; I cannot help remarking, that, while You are pleading for *Toleration*, you treat a Perſon[y] of eminent character and abilities with avowed Contempt, as *a diſſenting preacher*; and while you treat his reaſoning as falſe, fallacious, and abſurd, you give him ample revenge in your own.

Having conſidered the queſtion, in general, of the Patriarchs right of reſtraining the Idolatry of their times; I ſhall take a ſhort view of it with regard to the particular circumſtances attending it in the caſe of the Patriarch Abraham, which was what I more eſpecially inſiſted upon. He came out from his own Idolatrous nation, by the ſpecial call of

[x] Div. Leg. Book v, Sect. 2.

[y] Dr FOSTER; of whom thus Pope:

"Let modeſt Foſter, if he will, excel
"Ten Metropolitans in preaching well."

And thus his Commentator on the place: "This confirms an "obſervation which Mr Hobbes made long ago, That *there be* "*very few Biſhops that act a Sermon ſo well, as divers* PRES-"BYTERIANS *and* FANATIC PREACHERS *can do.* Hiſt. of "Civ. Wars, p. 62. SCRIBL."

God;

God, for this great end of his providence, that he might become the head and father of a nation which was to be kept ſeparate from all others, in order to maintain the pure worſhip of God, in oppoſition to Idolatry then almoſt univerſally prevailing. He ſettled in the Southern parts of Paleſtine, where he was ſurrounded with Idolatrous nations; on one ſide, the Egyptians; on another, the Chaldeans; on a third, and neareſt of all, the Canaanites; of whoſe monſtrous abominations, the concomitants and the effects of their unnatural worſhip, we cannot read without aſtoniſhment: part of his own houſehold perhaps ſtill retaining a tincture of their former ſuperſtitions; and diſpoſed to return, on the firſt opportunity, to their native Religion, from which they might have been unwillingly drawn. We know the ſtrong propenſity to Idolatrous practices, which always poſſeſſed his deſcendants, and which no reſtraints could overcome; his houſehold were now placed in more dangerous circumſtances than his deſcendants ever were afterwards, with fewer checks to reſtrain, or guards to defend them. Temptations of every kind, prejudice, authority, example, faſhion, ſenſual incitements, were ready at hand on every ſide to lay hold on them; and, if left to themſelves, both the general corruption, and particular deluſion of the age, would have born them down, as with a ſtrong tide, to the abyſs, from which they had ſo lately emerged. In theſe circumſtances, would Abraham have fulfilled his engagements with God, would he have performed

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the peculiar Duty incumbent on him by the charge of the Almighty; which was, "[z] to walk before "him, and to be PERFECT;" and "to command "his children after him, that they ſhould keep the "way of the Lord;" if he had connived at any open attempt to ſet up the worſhip of Falſe Gods among his people? when the leaſt contagion would have run through the whole community; when Idolatry, with all its concomitant abominations, if once permitted, would ſoon have univerſally prevailed; and there would have been but one ſtep between the free Toleration and the perfect Eſtabliſhment of it.

It is agreed among the moſt ſtrenuous Advocates of Religious Liberty, that Toleration has its proper bounds; and that there are opinions, as well as practices, which in a well regulated free State ought not to be tolerated. I ſhall not attempt to define theſe limits; nor indeed do I think it poſſible preciſely to mark the very point, to which the power of the Civil Magiſtrate may in every caſe of this nature be allowed to extend. It has been done in ſome inſtances by Writers of the firſt authority on this ſubject. Mr Locke[a] excludes from the be-

[z] Gen. xvii, 1: xviii, 19. The force of the expreſſion in the former of theſe places, "Be thou perfect," may be illuſtrated by comparing it with Deut. xviii, 13. where, after a charge to the Iſraelites not to learn the abominations of thoſe nations, whom God had caſt out before them, it is immediately added, "Thou ſhalt be PERFECT (or *entire*) with the Lord "thy God."

[a] Letter concerning Toleration, p. 58. &c. 4to.

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nefit of Toleration, all thoſe "who hold opinions "contrary to human ſociety; ſuch as, that Faith "is not to be kept with Heretics, and that Domi-"nion is founded in Grace; thoſe who deliver "themſelves up to the protection and ſervice of "another Prince, by acknowledging a foreign ju-"riſdiction; and who deny the being of a God." To theſe inſtances Biſhop Ellys, in his excellent Tracts on Spiritual Liberty [b], adds, that "thoſe, "who hold errors directly tending to weaken and "ſubvert any civil ſtate; thoſe, who maintain, that "Oaths are unlawful to be taken on any occaſion; "that all, even defenſive, War, and the bearing "any Magiſtracy, are things inconſiſtent with the "duty of a Chriſtian; that ſuch perſons have not, "ſtrictly ſpeaking, any right to Toleration: with "a general exception likewiſe of errors in religion, "which naturally tend to diſturb the Civil State, "and which are hurtful and detrimental to it." I ſhall beg leave to add alſo one or two examples, which I think may juſtly be reckoned of this latter kind: and I hope it will not offend your Lordſhip's moderation, if I exclude from Toleration all thoſe, who make practices ſhocking to humanity, and deſtructive of the human race itſelf, parts of their religious worſhip; ſuch as murders, proſtitutions, and impurities of all kinds; the horrid ſacrifices of Moloch, in which parents offered up their own children, and burnt them alive to appeaſe the Idol; the obſcene rites of Baal-peor, in which the moſt

[b] P. 57, &c.

ſhameleſs

ſhameleſs proſtitutions were permitted and encouraged at leaſt, if not neceſſarily required. Theſe are ſpecimens of the Idolatry, which prevailed, before the time of Moſes, in Canaan[c] and the neighbouring countries; and which I ſuppoſe all Sovereigns and Heads of Tribes, worſhippers of the true God, in thoſe times, did reſtrain, and had a right to reſtrain. I conceive, that their duty to God and to their people demanded of them, that they ſhould oppoſe and hinder the introduction of all ſuch abominations; and ſhould puniſh all thoſe of their dependents, who ſhould attempt to introduce them.

I ſhall conclude this ſubject by propoſing the ſentiments of another celebrated Author upon it, one of known candour and moderation, as well as great judgment, the very learned J. Albertus Fabricius.

[c] Lev. xviii; 21 and 24. Deut. xviii; 10 and 12. Num. xxv: and xxxi; 15, 16. See alſo Deut. xxiii, 17; where קדשה, קדש, properly a holy or conſecrated perſon, one ſeparated to a religious purpoſe, ſignifies a Proſtitute of either ſex: not becauſe Hebrew words have contradictory ſenſes, but becauſe in Canaan and the neighbouring nations, before the time of Moſes, Proſtitution made a part of their Idolatrous Worſhip. If it be ſaid, that there is no particular mention in Job of theſe abominations, but of the worſhip of the Sun and Moon only; I obſerve, that Moſes has in the very ſame manner expreſſed Idolatry in general, by the principal and leading ſpecies of it, the Worſhip of the Sun and Moon, and of the Hoſt of Heaven: and this he has done even in the enacting clauſe of the Law, which inflicts capital puniſhment on the crime of Idolatry. Deut. xvii; 2—5. As to the horrid rite of Human Sacrifices; the Author of *Divine Legation* holds, that it prevailed among the Idolatrous nations both of Chaldea and of Canaan in the time of Abraham. See Div. Leg. Vol. v; p. 252, 253.

Your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to note, that I do not make myſelf anſwerable for the juſtneſs of theſe ſentiments: for I am of opinion, that no general poſitions can well be laid down upon this delicate ſubject, which may not, in their application to particular caſes, be liable to objections. However, this excellent Perſon in his philological work on the Propagation of the Goſpel, having ſet forth the arguments and teſtimonies of antient authors in behalf of Toleration, and given an account of the ſeveral modern writers on the ſubject, adds his own judgment on the limits of Toleration, as follows[d].

"Ne quis autem inferat per hujuſmodi æquanimitatis veluti mollitiem quibuſlibet feneſtram aperiri veſanis erroribus, non fovendis modo, ſed profitendis etiam palam & propagandis, turbandæque eccleſiæ, & ipſi etiam civili Reip. quieti convellendæ: age limites tolerantiæ omnis per tria hæcce capita, divinarum literarum ſanæque rationis luce præeunte, circumſcribamus.

"I. Everſores religionis omnis, hancque irreligioſitatem ſuam profeſſos, & aliis ut ſecum ſimiliter inſaniant auctores, non modo licet, ſed decet & oportet etiam, reprimere, & jubere procul eſſe; niſi graviorem animadverſionem etiam inſolentia ſua ſibi in caput contraxerint. ——

"II. Errorum, quos peſtilentes & ſaluti civium ſuorum noxios eſſe Princeps vel Magiſtratus judicant,

[d] J. A. Fabricii Lux Salutaris Evangelii toti orbi exoriens; p. 507.

"dicant,

" dicant, diſſeminationem & propagationem in di-
" tione ſua, ne dum ſeditioſa dogmata, impedire,
" ejuſque auctores, poſt admonitionem obſtinatos,
" exilio afficere, & jure poſſunt, & ex officii &
" prudentiæ legibus ſunt obſtricti. Poſſunt jure id
" quidem, cum Patri-familias etiam integrum ſit
" & incumbat omnibus modis impedire, ne ſe in-
" vito doctrina, quam noxiam eſſe non dubitet,
" liberis ſuis aut familiæ inculcetur: officii autem
" hoc ab illis expoſcit ratio, quia non minor Prin-
" cipis & Magiſtratuum in ſubditos, quam boni
" Patris-familias in liberos familiamque amor, non
" minor cura ſalutis debet eſſe: prudentia denique
" idem ab iiſdem requirit, quoniam neglectum
" iſtud in tempore & in ipſis principiis officium
" quantis deinde tumultibus, periculis, & ſæpe
" fortunis ac vita ipſa, vel omnium rerum con-
" verſione, Imperantibus conſtiterit, hiſtoriarum
" monumenta paſſim loquuntur. ———

" III. Si tacere vel emigrare jubeantur qui noxi-
" os errores diſſeminare geſtiunt, non poſſunt illi
" de injuria vel perſecutione conqueri; nam hoc
" ipſo nemo ad religionem contra animi ſententiam
" cogitur." ———

But your Lordſhip, by one parting ſtroke of your pen, has demoliſhed all our reaſoning at once; which proceeded upon a ſuppoſition, that there was really ſuch a thing formerly as Patriarchal Government. You ſet out with aſſerting, that the Patriarchs were not Civil Magiſtrates, becauſe they were

not Kings. I was ſomewhat ſurprized, both at the aſſertion, and the reaſon by which it was ſupported. You now repeat your aſſertion in rather ſtronger terms; you ſay, "they were as much Gods as "Kings." A Petty-Conſtable, conſidered as a perſon in authority, is certainly much more like a King, than like a God: therefore you muſt mean, that the Patriarchs had no authority at all, not even of the loweſt kind; and that Patriarchal Government according to the common ſyſtem, like moſt other common ſyſtems, is all a mere Chimera. You do not vouchſafe to favour us with your reaſons. I ſuppoſe, they may be reſerved for another occaſion. I perceive your Lordſhip has for ſome time born no good will to theſe old Patriarchs; you have determined to allow them "no rights, either rela-"tive to, or connected with, thoſe of a Civil "kind[e]." You are afraid, it ſeems, leſt Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarch, long ſince dead and forgotten, ſhould come again and haunt us; and you think, it would be making ſurer work, to annihilate the perſon himſelf, both body and ſoul, before-hand, than to ſtay to lay the Ghoſt of him, when he may appear. Being under no ſuch apprehenſions myſelf, I ſhall wait with patience, till you ſhall be pleaſed to ſatisfy us. That Idolatry was the ſpecific crime for which Sodom was deſtroyed, and that there never was any ſuch thing as Patriarchal Government, will ſerve as pretty ſubjects to furniſh two new Epi-

[e] View of Bolingbroke's Philoſophy; P. 393.

ſodes

ſodes in *Divine Legation*. Your Lordſhip will eaſily introduce them in any given place, and extend them to any given length, as may be moſt convenient: and I ſuppoſe, we may expect them, when you give us the Firſt Part alſo of *Divine Legation*, a New Edition in Three Volumes.

So much for the principal, and argumentative, part of the Appendix. When I called it Sophiſtry; I paid a compliment to much the greateſt part of it, which it by no means deſerved. Sophiſtry implies addreſs, and management, and artifice; ſomething ſpecious, plauſible, and impoſing; ſome ſemblance, colour, or ſhadow of argument: even to this paltry merit Your argumentation has not the leaſt pretenſions; it is ſuch argumentation, as never was produced by any one *bred up in the principles of* LOGIC.

I proceed in the Second place to the *Buffoonery* of your Lordſhip's Appendix; diſplayed in two curious paragraphs, in which you are diſpoſed to be very witty and ludicrous. The firſt ſets out with a ſort of argumentation, which I do not well know, whether we are to take as meant in earneſt or in jeſt. You amend the Candid Examiner's queſtion by inſerting a new clauſe; and you do it in form, as a matter of great importance, thus: "The Ex-" aminer ſays, *Where was Idolatry ever puniſhed by* " *the Magiſtrate, but under the Jewiſh Œconomy?* A " queſtion equivalent to this;—" Where was Ido-" latry

" latry punished by the Civil Magistrate *on the esta-*
" *blished Laws of the State*, but in Judea?" I cannot well conceive what the force and intent of this addition, *on the established Laws of the State*, may be; unless you mean to put me to an insuperable difficulty, by challenging me to produce from the Patriarchal Code the enacting clause, and the very words of the Law, by virtue of which Idolatry was to be punished by the Magistrate. Well then, my Lord, to give you all the satisfaction in my power; be pleased to turn to Statut. Noach. cap. iii, in the Patriarchal Statute Book intitled תוספתא, which you may find in the Gemara Babylonica, ad Tit. Sanhedrim, cap. vii, fol. 56. I must note however, that this Chapter, which I quote as Chap. iii, is Chap. i, in some other copies: the Title of it is, עבודה זרה, *Of strange Worship*, or Idolatry. Indeed, my Lord, the *Præcepta Noachidarum* have been considered by the Learned, not as altogether an idle dream of the Rabbins, but as a subject of some importance; being agreeable to Holy Scripture, and in other respects much better founded than most that are accounted Traditionary doctrines. The very learned Selden has thought it worth while to treat of them at large in a considerable Work[f], of which they make the principal subject: and it is the universal opinion of the Jewish Lawyers of all ages, derived perhaps chiefly from this Tradition, that Idolatry was punished under the Patriarchs.

[f] De Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum.

And

And they, agreeably to their own Law, make it a Capital Crime. Their decision on the point, as expressed in the Gemara Babylonica, ibid. is this: "Ob violationem alicujus e septem Præceptis Noachidarum morte afficitur? De unico (sc. homicidio) aperte effatus est Deus ipse. Atque eadem ratio est cæterorum."

You go on in the same way; and prove, that I "fail in my first point, which is, finding out Civil "Magistrates" among these Patriarchs. Your argument is really a pleasant one; in proper form it stands thus: All Civil Magistrates are Kings; but the Patriarchs were not Kings; therefore the Patriarchs were not Civil Magistrates. The proof of the Major, I presume, can be no other than this: All Kings are Civil Magistrates; therefore all Civil Magistrates are Kings: which, according to the Old Canons of Logic, is what, I think, we used to call a *False Conversion*. But, my Lord, though one should grant, that real power necessarily depended on nominal title, and was always exactly proportionable to it; will not the title itself of *Patriarch* be sufficient for my purpose? Tho' Job and Abraham were not Kings; yet might they not be really and effectually Rulers of Tribes? And tho' the celebrated Mr Shinkin was not King, nor so much as Prince of Wales; yet might he not be the Worshipful Davyth ap Shinkin, Esq; one of the Justices of the Quorum for the County of Montgomery? And yet, if I had at all apprehended it

to

to be neceſſary; I believe, I could have offered ſome proof, that theſe Patriarchs were Kings. As thus: Abraham is called in the Book of Geneſis[*] נשיא אלהים. Now as the HEBREW VERITY, without the Greek Tranſlation of the Seventy, would be at this day, according to your Lordſhip, *a mere arbitrary Cipher*; for Your ſatisfaction, I muſt have recourſe to Them: and they decipher the words thus: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ παρα Θεου. So there is at once both Divine Right, and Regal Title. Theſe ſame infallible Greek Tranſlators (I hope they are ſuch, or we are, it ſeems, in a ſad condition with regard to our Bible) have added to the end of the book of Job a note of their own; which moſt of the Fathers, with Origen at their head, held to be a portion of authentic Scripture. Part of it is as follows: Ουτοι οι ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΣ οι ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ εν Εδωμ, ης και αυτος [ιωβ] ΗΡΞΕ χωρας πρωτος Βαλακ. —— μετα δε Βαλακ, Ιωβαβ ο καλουμενος ΙΩΒ. —— Οι δε ελθοντες προς αυτον Φιλοι, ΕΛΙΦΑΖ των Ησαυ υιων, Θαιμανων ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, Βαλδαδ ο Σαυχαιων ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΣ, Σωφαρ ο Μιναιων ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. And ſo here is for you, my Lord, not only *King Job*, but *King Eliphaz*, *King Bildad*, and *King Zophar*". And what

[*] Chap. xxiii, 6.

[*] Since I wrote the above, I have obſerved that the Author of *Divine Legation* (Vol. v, p. 85.) has caught at this Addition of the Seventy to the book of Job, and preſſed it into his ſervice. "But, what is ſtill of more moment, (ſays he) is a "paragraph at the end of the Septuagint tranſlation of the book "of Job, which makes of theſe three friends, two Kings and

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what if I ſhould prove to you ſtill further, that *Job's Wife was a Queen?* whether Queen DINAH, as the Jewiſh; or Queen RHAMA, as the Mohammedan Doctors call her; I will not pretend to determine. But ſome of the Fathers[i], as they inſiſt upon Job's being really a King, ſo they mention his Wife, with equal title of dignity, as a Queen. Though your Lordſhip is apt to be a little ſevere upon the Ladies, when they come in your way; yet I am perſuaded, had you been aware of this, you would have treated Her Idumean Majeſty with a little more reſpect[k].

But after all, I neither then was, nor am at preſent, under any ſort of neceſſity of proving theſe Patriarchs to be Kings. I never called them ſo. You think you are mighty witty upon me with King

"a Tyrant." In truth, it may be eaſily of *more moment* than the reſt of the arguments, by which he drives his parallel between the Three Friends of Job, and *Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Servant the Ammonite, and Geſhem the Arabian*: but of what moment it is, or how it is in the leaſt to his purpoſe, I do not ſee. If he means, that the Three Friends, becauſe they were *two Kings* and a *Tyrant*, do therefore more properly repreſent in his Drama two *No-Kings* and a *Slave*; this, I muſt own, is quite above my comprehenſion. Note, that עבד (ὁ δυλος, LXX.) may be rendered a *Slave* (in Nehem. ii, 10.) with at leaſt as much propriety, as τυραννος in the other is rendered a *Tyrant*.

[i] Πλειστις και λαμπρις ἡ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ δυλδω. Baſil. in Catena Græc. Patr. in Job. collectore Niceta. Lond. 1637. p. 89. Τοσαυτη τις αυτῳ γεγονεν συγκαταβασις, ὡς και την ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΑ τῳ αυτε γυναικα δυλευειν επι μισθῳ. Olympiodorus, ibid. p. 605.

[k] See Div. Leg. Book vi, Sect. 2.

Melchiſedec, and King Shinkin. On me your jeer *glances aſlope*; but it lights full upon Moſes and St Paul. Your *Monarch, though dropt from the clouds, yet not of the true ſtamp, by hereditary right*; your ludicrous interpretation, of *the Tythes taken from Abraham into fines for Nonconformity*, and the *Bleſſing* into a Spiritual-Court *Abſolution*; your ſneer upon the original Scriptures of the Old Teſtament under the title of the HEBREW VERITY, "the "characteriſtic phraſe with an Ironical Emphaſis, "which is your conſtant formula," when you ſpeak of the Hebrew Scriptures; your inſinuation, that even the ſimple terms[1] uſed in the *Hebrew Verity* are ambiguous

[1] As for his Lordſhip's Wit here upon *Bleſſing* and *Curſing*, let thoſe make any thing of it, that can; I profeſs, it is paſt my comprehenſion: but his Criticiſm I ſhall conſider. "The "Hebrew word to *bleſs* ſignifies likewiſe to *curſe*:" i. e. to curſe, as in a ſolemn execration uttered by a Prieſt; for that is the ſenſe, which his Lordſhip's meaning, if he has any, requires in this place. But he will find no example of the word ברך, in which it can be ſuppoſed to be uſed in that ſenſe; for which the Hebrew, though the moſt barren (as he ſays) of all languages, and though the idea is not of the moſt frequent occurrence, has yet four or five other ſynonymous terms, אלה, ארר, נקב, קמב, קלל. And I will add, that the word ברך never does ſignify to *curſe* at all. The ſeemingly diſcordant ſenſes of this word have been long ago perfectly well reconciled. It ſignifies properly to *bleſs*; or, which was originally the ſame thing, to ſay to a perſon *fare you well*, or *God be with you*. But as we bid *farewell* to a perſon, when we part with him as well with an ill, as with a good, diſpoſition towards him; to bid *farewell* to any one often ſignifies to relinquiſh, and to deſert him, with a deſign of having nothing more to do with him. And this way of ſpeaking, I believe, prevails in all the languages in the world. It will be ſufficient to illuſtrate it by a few examples from

ambiguous and contradictory; all this has nothing to do with me, nor has it the leaſt relation to the ſubject.

from the Latin. "Varro in libris Logiſtoricis dicit, *Ideo* "*mortuis* ſalve *et* vale *dici, non quod* valere *aut* ſalvi eſſe *poſ-* "*ſint, ſed quod ab his recedimus, eos nunquam viſuri.* Hinc "ortum eſt, ut etiam maledicti ſignificationem interdum *va-* "*leat* obtineat; ut Terentius: *valeant, qui inter nos diſcidium* "*volunt*: hoc eſt, ita a nobis recedant, ut nunquam ad noſ-"trum revertantur aſpectum. Ergo cum mortuo dicitur "*vale*, non etymologia conſideranda eſt, ſed conſuetudo; "quod nullis *vale* dicimus niſi a quibus recedimus." Servius ad Virg. Æn. XI, 97. "*Vivitæ Sylvæ.* Valete: non "enim bene optantis eſt, ſed renunciantis." Id. ad Eclog. viii, 58. Thus too, a man may be ſaid to bid *farewell* to God; when he deſerts him, and will ſerve and acknowledge him no longer. "Si maxime talis eſt Deus, ut nulla gratia, "nulla hominum caritate teneatur; *valeat.*" Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. i. And thus the Poet to his obſcene Deity:

"*Vale*, Priape; debeo tibi nihil:
"Jacebis inter arva ſqualidus ſitu."
TIBULL. iv, 16.

Now ברך can in no other way ſignify *maledictum*, than *vale* does according to the gloſs of Servius; which ſurely is not the proper interpretation of it. Naboth might apoſtatize from God, and throw off his allegiance to the King; and Job's Sons might renounce God ſecretly in their hearts, and Job himſelf openly; without any thing like a *Curſe* implied in any of theſe caſes.

The only place remaining, in which the word has been rendered to *curſe*, is Job ii, 9; which the Author of *Divine Legation* thus explains. "*Curſe God*, BARECH, *benedic, ma-* "*ledic*: here rightly tranſlated *curſe*: ——— *and* DIE, that is, "offer violence to yourſelf." I apprehend, not rightly tranſlated in the former part, nor rightly explained in the latter. *Curſe God!* ſhocking and improbable, whatever we may think of Job's Wife. Why not *bleſs God*, in the obvious ſenſe of the word? ומת, *and die*, give up the ghoſt; for to expreſs, *kill yourſelf*, I apprehend, it ought to have been התמותת. "Then ſaid his Wife unto him, Doſt thou ſtill "retain thine integrity? Bleſs God, and die!" That is,

ſubject. It is all far-fetched conceit, and forced pleaſantry; void of wit, of meaning, of common decency, of common ſenſe: it is low banter, and illiberal burleſque, upon the Prophet, the Apoſtle, and the Holy Scriptures. 'It is really to be la-'mented[m], when we ſee a Gentleman and a Scho-'lar join the ſmall-dealers in ſecond-hand Ridicule, 'and with affected wit and real profaneneſs, mere-'ly for the ſake of exerting his little talent of 'drollery, treat the Holy Scripture as cavalierly, 'as ever did Collins or Tindal, Lords Shafteſbury 'or Bolingbroke.' But when we ſee You, my

Thou ſeeſt now what recompenſe thou receiveſt for thy virtue and piety, at the hand of God: Go, ſerve God, and periſh for thy pains! To this interpretation Le Clerc (on the place) has aptly applied a paſſage of Ovid, expreſſing the ſame ſentiment much in the ſame manner;

"Vive pius; moriere pius; cole ſacra; colentem
"Mors gravis a templis in cava buſta trahet."

To this Irony Job thus replies: "Thou talkeſt like one of "the fooliſh women," in queſtioning the juſtice of God's diſpenſations. "What, ſhall we receive good at the hand "of God, and ſhall we not receive evil? In all this (adds the Author) Job did not ſin with his lips." In this trial likewiſe, as in the former, Job preſerved his conſtancy and moderation, and expreſſed himſelf rightly and properly with regard to God's juſtice: though in the next trial, that of the provocation of his Friends, charging him with hypocriſy and the greateſt crimes, he did not ſupport himſelf with equal firmneſs of temper, nor keep ſo ſtrict a guard upon his lips. In this ſenſe of the paſſage, Job's reply is a direct anſwer to his Wife's ſpeech: and the whole has a relation to the Queſtion agitated at large in the Poem, Whether good and evil are at preſent diſpenſed by Providence according to the merits and demerits of men; and very properly prepares the way for the great debate on that Queſtion.

[m] See Doctrine of Grace; p. 309.

Lord,

Lord, a Clergyman, and ——— but I forbear, in regard to your rank and character; it were well, if You had a proper regard to them Yourſelf.

From Buffoonery to Scurrility is an eaſy tranſition; which brings me, Thirdly, to the *Scurrilous* part of your Lordſhip's Appendix.

You are pleaſed to repreſent me as a Zealot and a Bigot, a Propagator of the doctrine of Reſtraint and Perſecution in matters of Religion, and one that has not been bred up in the Principles of Toleration. Pray, my Lord, ——— *unde petitum Hoc in me jacis?* You infer it as the conſequence of an argument, which I have occaſionally uſed. Is this a candid, or a fair inference? If, even upon your own principle, that the groſſeſt Act of Idolatrous Worſhip is no more than a mere Speculative Opinion, I had held, that it was nevertheleſs the Duty of the Patriarchs, a Duty ariſing from their peculiar engagements with God, and from their particular ſituation and circumſtances, which I expreſsly inſiſted on, to reſtrain Idolatry; would it fairly be inferred, that I am an enemy to Toleration in general, and by habit and principle of an inquiſitorial and perſecuting ſpirit? Even in this caſe, the inference would have been ungenerous and invidious: but as it is, it ariſes from your own Sophiſtry, and not from my Argument; from which, however you might preſs and torture it for bad conſequences, you might as well have concluded, that I was a

Jew,

Jew, or a Mahometan, as an Intolerant and a Perſecutor. Or have you any other reaſons for fixing theſe principles upon me? Have you obſerved any thing in my actions, or converſation, that warrants the imputation? As it happens, I have never omitted any opportunity, that fairly offered itſelf, of bearing my teſtimony againſt theſe very principles; and of expreſſing my abhorence of them, both in private and in public. Tho' I cannot ſuppoſe, that your Lordſhip ever condeſcended to look into what I have publiſhed; except that once you dipped up and down in my Lectures for offenſive paſſages, which you could neither find nor make: yet methinks you might have recollected, what I had written to yourſelf in private. Why then am I branded, as an intolerant Zealot? And *You*, my Lord, is it YOU of all men living, that ſtand forth to accuſe another of Intolerance of Opinions!

But the Abuſe is not merely Perſonal; it goes further; it extends even to the Place of my Education. "But the learned *Profeſſor*, who has been "hardily brought up in the keen Atmoſphere of "WHOLESOME SEVERITIES, and early taught to "diſtinguiſh between *de facto* and *de jure*——" Pray, my Lord, what is it to the purpoſe, where I have been brought up? You charge me with Principles of Intolerance, adding a gentle inſinuation alſo of Diſaffection to the Preſent Royal Family and Government: you infer theſe Principles, it ſeems, from the Place of my Education. Is this

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a neceſſary conſequence? Is it even a fair concluſion? May not one have had the good ſenſe, or the good fortune, to have avoided, or to have gotten the better of, the ordinary prejudices of Education? Why then ſhould you think, that I muſt ſtill neceſſarily labour under the bad influence of an Atmoſphere, which I happened to breathe in my youth? If I am not actually chargeable with ſuch Principles now; ſurely it is rather matter of commendation to have eſcaped, or to have ſhaken off, a vice, to which you think I was unhappily expoſed. To have made a proper uſe of the advantages of a good education, is a juſt praiſe; but to have overcome the diſadvantages of a bad one, is a much greater. In ſhort, my Lord, I cannot but think, that this inquiſition concerning my Education is quite beſide the purpoſe. Had I not your Lordſhip's example to juſtify me, I ſhould think it a piece of extreme impertinence to inquire, where You were bred; though one might juſtly plead, in excuſe for it, a natural curioſity to know *where* and *how* ſuch a Phenomenon was produced. It is commonly ſaid, that your Lordſhip's Education was of that particular kind, concerning which it is a remark of that great judge of men and manners, Lord Clarendon, (on whom You have therefore with a wonderful happineſs of alluſion, juſtneſs of application, and elegance of expreſſion, conferred "the unrivaled title" of *the Chancellor of Human*

[n] A Critical and Philoſophical Enquiry into the Cauſes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Hiſtorians; p. 61.

"*Nature,*")

" *Nature,*" ) that it peculiarly diſpoſes men to be Proud, Inſolent, and Pragmatical *. Now, my Lord, as You have in your whole behaviour, and in all your writings, remarkably diſtinguiſhed yourſelf by your humility, lenity, meekneſs, forbearance, candour, humanity, civility, decency, good manners, good temper, moderation with regard to the opinions of others, and a modeſt diffidence of your own; this unpromiſing circumſtance of your Education is ſo far from being a diſgrace to You, that it highly redounds to your praiſe.

But, I am wholly precluded from all claim to ſuch merit: on the contrary, it is well for me, if I can acquit myſelf of a charge that lies hard upon me; the burthen of being reſponſible for the great advantages, which I enjoyed. For, my Lord, I was educated in THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. I enjoyed all the advantages both public and private, which that famous Seat of Learning ſo largely affords. I ſpent many happy years in that Illuſtrious Society, in a well-regulated courſe of uſeful diſcipline and ſtudies, and in the agreeable and improving commerce of Gentlemen and of Scholars:

* " Colonel Harriſon was the ſon of a butcher near Nant-
" wich in Cheſhire, and had been bred up in the place of a
" Clerk under a Lawyer of good account in thoſe parts; which
" kind of Education introduces men into the language and
" practice of buſineſs; and, if it be not reſiſted by the great
" ingenuity of the perſon, inclines young men to more Pride,
" than any other kind of breeding; and diſpoſes them to be
" Pragmatical and Inſolent." Clarendon's Hiſtory; Vol. iii, p. 246: 8vo.

in

in a Society, where emulation without envy, ambition without jealouſy, contention without animoſity, incited induſtry, and awakened genius; where a liberal purſuit of knowledge, and a generous freedom of thought, was raiſed, encouraged, and puſhed forward, by example, by commendation, and by authority. I breathed the ſame Atmoſphere, that the HOOKERS, the CHILLINGWORTHS, and the LOCKES, had breathed before: whoſe benevolence and humanity were as extenſive as their vaſt genius and their comprehenſive knowledge; who always treated their adverſaries with civility and reſpect; who made candour, moderation, and liberal judgment, as much the rule and law, as the ſubject of their diſcourſe; who did not amuſe their Readers with empty declamations and fine-ſpun theories of Toleration, while they were themſelves agitated with a furious Inquiſitorial ſpirit, ſeizing every one they could lay hold on, for preſuming to diſſent from them in matters the moſt indifferent, and dragging them through the fiery Ordeal of abuſive Controverſy. And do you reproach me with my education in This Place, and with my relation to This moſt reſpectable Body; which I ſhall always eſteem my greateſt advantage, and my higheſt honour?

This, my Lord, could not be your deſign. The ſtroke was not principally aimed at me; your deſign was, by a far-fetched conceit, to ſtrike through me at The Univerſity of OXFORD; and to reflect on that eminent Seat of Learning, as a Nurſery of bigotry, intolerance, perſecution, and diſ-

loyalty. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to inquire into the grounds and reaſons, which you may pretend for this "iniquitous and ſcurrilous Reflection on "ſo illuſtrious a Body:" the real motives of *your* Panegyric and Satire are not to be ſought in the merits or demerits of the particular ſubjects of them; but in times, circumſtances, and private hiſtory; by which, it is well known, they are conſtantly regulated, and with which they always vary.

You ſet out with favourable thoughts and high notions of the Univerſity of Oxford: and in one of your firſt literary performances, at a time when your panegyric was not certainly better applied than it might have been now, you no ſooner touched upon the ſubject, than you took fire at the bright idea: rapt in the ſpirit of prophetic enthuſiaſm, your *Muſa Pedeſtris* immediately got on horſeback, and mounted on her Pegaſus away ſhe went in this high prancing ſtyle, "majorque videri
"Nec mortale ſonans:"

"Methinks I ſee her, like the mighty Eagle,
"renewing her *immortal Youth*, and purging
"her opening Sight at th' unobſtructed Beams
"of our benign Meridian SUN; which ſome
"pretend to ſay had been dazled and abuſed
"by an inglorious peſtilential METEOR;
"while th' ill-affected Birds of Night would with
"their envious Hootings,
"prognoſticate a Length of Darkneſs and Decay[p]."

[p] Prodigies and Miracles; p. 136.

"And

" And what a deal of candid curteſy,
" ('Twas ere his infant fortune came to age,)
" Did then this " ——————

Did You, my Lord, I would ſay,—" proffer us", in your Preface to the Second Volume of *Divine Legation?* Then it was: " Here SCIENCE and " TRUE RELIGION firſt ſtarted from their long " ſlumber of ſix barbarous ages. —— And ani- " mated with their former ſucceſſes over IGNO- " RANCE and SUPERSTITION, they now turn their " arms with unimpared vigour againſt VICE and " PROFANENESS." Then, " we juſtly regarded " them, as the laſt ſupports of a corrupt declining " Age." And more ſtill, in the ſame ſugared ſtyle: " The only ſymptom not mortal in our " ſickneſs is, that we have not yet *abuſed* our Phy- " ſician. Amidſt that unbridled licence, which " now inſults every thing in *Government* and *Reli-* " *gion*, it is ſome Conſolation to every good man " to ſee the Two Univerſities ſecure from *Out-* " *rage*." Alas! my Lord, the times are now ſadly changed, when theſe ſymptoms of a mortal diſ- eaſe break out in the vital parts; and this very *Abuſe* and *Outrage*, violating " the ſacred Reve- " rence of the Areopagus, which the moſt ungo- " verned Tongue never dared to violate" before, comes from a quarter, whence it might leaſt have been feared; from One of that Order, which theſe Seminaries of Learning and Religion have always looked upon as their chief glory, and their ſureſt protection.

In the Second Edition of this Preface, the clauſe laſt cited came forth attended with a curious Note. 'The Author of the *Weekly Miſcellany* had even 'then begun this very *Outrage*;' and had reflected upon the Univerſity of Oxford, "for letting the "Methodiſts alone, and permitting them to take "Degrees; which was giving them encouragement." What now could one ſuppoſe ſo proper, or what ſo obvious, for our profeſt Panegyriſt of the Univerſity of Oxford, and ſtrenuous Advocate for Toleration, to do in this caſe, as to turn this abſurd reproach upon the Univerſity to her praiſe? No ſuch thing. He is really ſcandalized at it, and treats it as an "iniquitous and ſcurrilous Reflec-"tion on ſo illuſtrious a Body:" he ſets himſelf to work in good earneſt, and endeavours with all his might to wipe off the odious and unjuſt aſperſion, and to defend them againſt this grievous charge of Moderation and Tolerance. "The Ma-"giſtrates of the Place *did* uſe all lawful means to "ſuppreſs them." The Laws had unhappily tied up their hands, ſo that they could not have employed Fire and fagot, if they had been ever ſo well inclined; and how much ſoever the Zealots might have wiſhed it: all the defence therefore their Apologiſt could make was, 'that the worthy 'Vice-Chancellor went and reprimanded Mr Whit-'field before a large Congregation, which he had 'gathered together about him, and obliged him 'that very day to leave the Town, where he has

'not

'not been heard of ſince.' A poor Apology at beſt! *Only Baniſhment*, inflicted by the private authority of the worthy Vice-Chancellor; and the *Illuſtrious Body* had no concern in it at all, nor any claim of merit from this laudable exertion of WHOLESOME SEVERITY.

But here, alas! at this period, end all the glories of the Two Univerſities. Something was at this time depending at Oxford[q]; certain favours were ſolicited; Academical Honours, out of the ordinary courſe, were expected. And how theſe expectations ſucceeded, may be ſeen in a ſubſequent edition of the Preface; where all theſe lofty ſtrains of Panegyric are eraſed and cancelled for ever.

Ex illo fluere, ac retro ſublapſa referri,
Res Danaûm! ———

Academical Degrees, ſo lately the object of Ambition, ſoon degenerated into Profeſſorſhips "of the "*Occult Sciences*[r];" "the Scene of Letters[s]" was "cloſed, and every Science was retiring from its "*Profeſſors* to Dictionary-makers and Bookſellers;" and the Univerſity of Oxford, whoſe Moderation and Forbearance of late was ſuch, as to put a zealous Apologiſt to great difficulties in clearing her of the ſcandalous imputation, is now arrived at the

[q] See Pope's Letters to Warburton; Letters cviii, cix, and cxiv.

[r] Warburton's Preface to Shakeſpear; p. xxvi.

[s] Warburton's Remarks on Occaſional Reflections; Part II. p. 155. See alſo Note to Dunciad; Book iv. ver. 241.

contrary

contrary extreme, and is become to the ſame perſon a proper ſubject of invective, as the Nurſing Mother of Bigotry and Perſecution!

But, my Lord, though the Univerſity of Oxford, incapable of eſtimating Merit of ſuch uncommon ſize, may have treated you with an ill-judged diſregard, and unjuſtly witheld thoſe honours which You thought your due; yet why ſhould your Lordſhip take ſuch a diſappointment ſo much to heart, and hoard it up ſo long in your reſentment? Surely You have philoſophy enough, to conſole yourſelf upon this, and much greater occaſions. What if one, as mean as I am, ſhould have born away honours, which You ſolicited in vain? What if Another, worthy indeed in all reſpects, unleſs compared with You, (and who can abide ſuch a compariſon?) ſhould have been lately honoured with a Promotion, which You ought to have adorned? Your wiſdom, Your experience, Your knowledge of the world and of yourſelf, ſhould eaſily reconcile all this, and much more than this, to Your perfect acquieſcence. Conſcious as You are of Your own ſuperlative worth, You ſhould rather conſider theſe events on the favourable ſide; as a preſumptive proof of Your great eminence; as a kind of public atteſtation of thoſe tranſcendent talents, which uſually depreſs their envied poſſeſſor: You, who ſo well know, that "we often ſee thoſe "Honours conferred upon MEDIOCRITY, which "are due to SUPERIOR MERIT;" and that "it "is

" is a Fact confirmed by the univerſal experience " of all ages and nations, that the MOST WORTH- " LESS generally gets the PRIZE."

Having gone through the Sophiſtry, the Buffoonery, and the Scurrility, of the Appendix; I come now, laſtly, to the *Critical* part of it, which we ſhall find to be of a character ſomewhat different.

In the firſt place, I ſhall juſt make a ſmall remark or two upon your Lordſhip's Tranſlation of my words. The peculiar character of the Poem of Job is " a certain primitive and *noble ſimplicity*." I beg your pardon, my Lord: I ſaid not a word of *a noble ſimplicity*; nor was it at all to my purpoſe. I ſaid, its peculiar character was αρχαϊσμος, an air or caſt of Antiquity; which a Poem may have, without being either *noble* or *ſimple*: as, for inſtance, one of old Chaucer's merry Tales; and the Poem of Job had the ſame *noble ſimplicity*, which it has now, the very firſt day after it was written, when it had no air of Antiquity at all. " Non " multo ſanius judicare," " to judge almoſt as " *inſanely*." Surely, my Lord, a very *inſane* tranſlation. I appeal to any indifferent judge, whether it gives the obvious and uſual meaning of the phraſe,

* " Euthemon dixit —— *ſanius* quam Glycon." Seneca, Controv. xxxiv. " Aſiatici oratores non contemnendi; —— " Rhodii *ſaniores*." Cicero, de Clar. Orat. 13. In each of theſe inſtances, both are commended; the one as more *judicious* than the other.

phraſe, when employed in a ſubject of Criticiſm: and I ſolemnly proteſt, that the idea, which your tranſlation gives, never entered into my thoughts. You pretend, that by virtue of this phraſe I have repreſented you as *mad-brained*. My Lord, you may take the epithet to yourſelf, if you pleaſe; it is of your own application: I have nothing to do with it, and ſhall not diſpute the propriety of it with you. But it is my misfortune, that I cannot make myſelf underſtood in Latin by your Lordſhip, and ſome of your Friends. The Candid Examiner would needs have it, that the proper Engliſh of *Animorum Immortalium deſcriptio* was, *a deſcription of future rewards and puniſhments, or an account of the ſtate and condition of good and bad men after death*[u]; though the phraſe was at large explained in the very place[v] by the words "notio & intelligentia, unde, "ubi & quales eſſent, explicarent; —— quis eo-"rum locus, forma, conditio." And your Lordſhip ſurpriſingly fell in with your Friend's interpretation. But your Candid Friend, who has a great talent at deducing conſequences, and in this reſpect is indeed (as you always ſtyle him) an Excellent Writer, upon this poſtulatum went on for ſeven pages imputing to me opinions, ſuppoſitions, *invidious* expreſſions, and *profligate* inſinuations; not one of which ever entered into my conception.

[u] See Free and Candid Examination, &c. p. 279.

[v] De Sacra Poeſi Hebræorum, Præl. vii.

Your

Your Lordſhip begins your Critical remarks with obſerving, ‘ that I am a little unlucky in my com-
‘ pariſon ;’ that is, in comparing the judgment of thoſe who place the Poem of Job below the Babylonian Captivity, with that of Father Harduin, who aſcribed the golden Poems of Virgil, Horace, and the reſt, to the iron ages of the Monks. Now really I thought, I had been particularly lucky in this compariſon ; when, a year or two after I had written this Note, and before this Note was publiſhed, I found that a very Learned and Ingenious foreign Profeſſor had hit upon the very ſame Compariſon, in very nearly the ſame caſe[x] ; and that the Compariſon had ſtruck him ſo forcibly, that he could not forbear uſing it a ſecond time. A Parallel not common, nor, I believe, ever before applied to this ſubject, occurring at once to two different Perſons, between whom there was then no communication whatever, ſhould ſeem from this very circumſtance to have a juſt foundation.

x. “ Nihil Ezra mornatius ; ut mirer, quo erroris portento
“ Moſaica illi ſcripta tribui potuerint : quamquam non eſt,
“ quod mirer, cum facinus ſimillimum auſus ſit Harduinus.”
Michaelis Præfat. in Not. in Prælect. De Sacra Poeſi Hebræorum ; p. ix.

“ Ezræ certe, cujus Hebraiſmo nihil eſt humilius & ingratius,
“ Pſalmos nobiliſſimos tribuere, peccato vicinum eſt Harduini,
“ odas Horatianas infimæ linguæ Latinæ ætati tribuenti.” Michaelis Notæ ; p. 106.

“ Hoene poema [ Jobi ] *aureum* ubique linguæ Hebraicæ, &
“ Moſaicam ætatem ſpirans, ad *ferrea* illa tempora detrudamus ; quæ, extincto uno bono poeta, Jeremia, nihil perfecti,
“ ac ne quidem mediocriter pulcri, fuderunt ? ” Ibid. p. 188. Edit. Oxon.

But, as to the Juſtneſs of the Compariſon; we ſhall ſee by and by, whether it does not appear from a true ſtate of the things themſelves ſo compared. "The age of Job, ſay you, as fixed by "him, (the Profeſſor,) and the age of the Writer "of his hiſtory, as fixed by me, run exactly pa- "rallel, not with the times of Virgil and Frederic "Barbaroſſa, as he would inſinuate, but with thoſe "of Ennius and Virgil." I am afraid, it will at laſt appear; that, after all the Adventures of the Divine Legation of Moſes, "Judea itſelf is a *terra* "*incognita* to this great Adventurer." Ezra the Virgil of the Hebrew Claſſics! and Ezra to Job, in grace, elegance, and purity of language, as Virgil to Ennius! I will venture to affirm, that the Critic, who gives forth this as his deciſive judgment, never read either Job or Ezra: I mean, in the original, and with a competent knowledge of the language. I was very well convinced before, that the only Interpreter, who has made the Book of Job intelligible[y], had never read Job in Hebrew; and I now ſuſpect, that the Demonſtrator of the Divine Legation of Moſes never read the Hebrew Pentateuch. ——— "Job, the hero of the "Poem, lived in an *age* when civil Society was but "beginning to ſhew itſelf, and what is more, in a "*country* where it never yet was formed." I ſuppoſe the age of Job to have been earlier than that of Moſes; and the country of Job to have been

[y] See Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 125.

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the land of Edom, part of Arabia Petræa. I have given my reaſons [z] for making Job an Idumean; and I now obſerve, that the great Sir Iſaac Newton [a] was of the ſame opinion. The Country of Job was upon the borders of Egypt; and the Age of Job was when the Empire of Egypt was arrived at a high degree of improvement in all the arts of civil Society. The Country of Job muſt have had a conſiderable communication with Egypt, by means of the great commerce, which was carried on between all the Eaſtern countries and Egypt [b], great part of which muſt paſs through Edom; and it was a Country of celebrated reputation for *wiſdom* [c], for "authors of fables, and ſearchers "out of underſtanding;" a reputation probably derived from antient times. ——— "But Ezra "was an eminent Citizen in the moſt perfect civil "government in the world." In a civil government, your Lordſhip ought to have ſaid, which had lain a long time in a ſtate of diſſolution, and was but juſt now riſing out of its ruins: circumſtances, which allow no encouragement or opportunity for the cultivation of Letters. ——— "Which "he was ſent home to reſtore, laden with the lite-"rary treaſures of the Eaſt." Ezra was indeed ſent home laden with treaſures; with [d] ſix hundred and fifty talents of ſilver, and an hundred talents

[z] De Sacra Poeſi Hebræorum; Præl. xxxii. Not. 1.
[a] Chronology; p. 213. [b] Gen. xxxvii, 25, 28.
[c] Jer. xlix, 7: Obad. 8: Baruch iii, 23.
[d] Ezra viii; 26, 27: and vii, 22.

of gold; and with baſons, and other veſſels of gold, and ſilver, and fine copper; and with good ſtore of wheat, and wine, and oil, and ſalt: but as for the Literary treaſures of the Eaſt, with which he was ſent home laden, I have never read of them in Hiſtory, nor can I find any traces of them in his Writings. —— "From this ſecond tranſplantation "of the Republic, Science got footing in Judea:" in a low degree, if we may judge by the few monuments that remain of it; nor did it ever make any near approach to the ſtate in which it had been for many ages before the Captivity. —— "And, "from a ſtrict *adherence* to the LAW, a ſtudious "cultivation of the LANGUAGE, in which that "Law was written, naturally followed." If the Hebrew Language was brought home ſafe and ſound, and in vulgar uſe, as your Lordſhip ſuppoſes, from the Seventy years Captivity at Babylon, which is very improbable; how came it, in the midſt of this ſtudious cultivation of it, to ſlip through their fingers, and be loſt as a living Language, as it certainly was within a few generations afterwards? —— "As it did amongſt the Sara-"zens, who cultivated the Arabic, on the ſame "principle. And to underſtand how great this "was in both, we need only conſider, that each "had the ſame averſion to a tranſlation of their "Law into a foreign language." Beſides that the conſequence is not very clear, part of the premiſes is certainly falſe: for that the Jews, before Chriſtianity began to prevail, had no averſion to a tranſ-

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lation of their Law into a foreign Language, is plain, from the Greek Tranſlation of the Seventy, and from the Chaldee Paraphraſes; all made by the Jews themſelves, and publicly uſed by them in their Synagogues: in memory of the firſt of which the Alexandrine Jews long kept an annual feaſt, in the Iſle of Pharos[e]; till, the Chriſtians making uſe of that Tranſlation againſt them, they began to deteſt it, and, as ſome ſay, changed their feaſt into a faſt. What the Saracens did with the Arabic, I know not; and here your Lordſhip getting out of my depth, I muſt leave you to diſcuſs this point of Oriental Learning by yourſelf; for I do not chooſe to talk learnedly about what I do not underſtand.

——— "Yet for all this, the Profeſſor calls Ezra a "SEMI-BARBARIAN." My Lord, you miſtake me: you will perpetually appropriate to yourſelf in particular, what I ſay in general; as if You always intirely poſſeſſed my thoughts, and no one elſe was worth regarding. I did not confine myſelf to Your hypotheſis: I was ſpeaking of thoſe Authors in general, who place the Book of Job below the Babyloniſh Captivity. I call the *Age* Semi-barbarous, if you pleaſe: I do not call Ezra *a Semi-barbarous Poet*; for I maintain, that Ezra was no Poet at all. Others have placed the Book of Job below the Captivity, as well as You; Le Clerc, for inſtance; but Le Clerc underſtood what he was about too well to make Ezra the Author of the Poem; for

[e] Philo, De Vita Moſis; Lib. ii. See Simon, Hiſtoire Critique du V. T. Liv. i, chap. 17.

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he muſt have known, that Ezra was as improper a perſon as could well be choſen for that purpoſe.

But granting, that in calling the *Age* Semi-barbarous, I virtually call Ezra ſo, who belonged to it. Well then; "the Profeſſor calls Ezra a SEMI-BARBARIAN, THO' we agree, that he wrote "by the Inſpiration of the Moſt High." So, it ſeems, the character of *Semi-barbarian* is incompatible with that of an Inſpired Writer; and the invidious concluſion is, that by calling Ezra a Semi-barbarian, I caſt a reflection upon him, that tends to invalidate the opinion of his Inſpiration. Manifeſtly ſo: the oppoſition is ſtrongly marked; Ezra a *Semi-barbarian*, THO' *Inſpired!* Now, my Lord, pray recollect your own poſition concerning this matter in the *Doctrine of Grace*: by which it ſhould rather ſeem, that I had been faulty quite on the other ſide, and that by calling Ezra only half a Barbarian, I had robbed him of half his pretenſions to the Inſpiration of the Moſt High. Here follows your poſition: you introduce it as a bold one, and it fully comes up to the character you give of it. "I will be *bold* to affirm [f], that were the "STYLE of the New Teſtament exactly ſuch as "his (Dr Middleton's) very exaggerated account

[f] *Doctrine of Grace*; p. 55. See this bold Paradox, and the principles on which it is raiſed, effectually confuted by the Learned and Ingenious Dr *Thomas Leland*, of Trinity College, Dublin, in a *Diſſertation on the Principles of Eloquence*; and the Confutation unanſwerably ſupported againſt an Anonymous Critic, in his *Examination of the Criticiſm on the Diſſertation*.

"of

" of it would perſuade us to believe, namely, that " it *is utterly rude and barbarous, and abounding with* " *every fault that can poſſibly deform a language*, this " is ſo far from proving ſuch language not divine- " ly inſpired, that it is one *certain mark* of this " original." And can You now, conſiſtently with this bold affirmation, upbraid me with the crime of calling an Inſpired Writer a Semi-barbarian? Commend me to the candid and judicious Polemic; who, reſolved at all adventures to object, and being at a loſs for other objections, caſts his own Principles, as a ſevere reproach, in the teeth of his adverſary.

I proceed to your Lordſhip's obſervations upon the internal argument from TASTE; only premiſing, that I would beg your Readers to note, that the delicate image of " diſtinguiſhing Partridge " from Horſe-fleſh," is intirely your own; though you do me the honour of it by marking it as mine: and that I have conſulted the place of *Divine Legation* here referred to; where you make the excellencies of the ſtyle of Job parallel to " the beauty " and weight of Ennius's elegance [a];" which only ſhews, that you are very little acquainted with the Style of Job: and afterwards illuſtrate the excellencies of Job's language, as of the ſame kind with thoſe of " the languages of certain Warrior- " tribes of North America;" which is *ignotum per*

[a] Vol. v, p. 44.

*ignotius.*

*ignotius.* The ſtyle of Job, as I conceive, is very improperly made parallel to that of Ennius. Job is rather the Homer of the Hebrew Claſſics; who, with the venerable air of antiquity, and the force and ſpirit of original genius, has, at the ſame time, that elegance of language and beauty of compoſition, which the more poliſhed and refined ages never ſurpaſſed.

Having propoſed to conſider the argument from Taſte, your Lordſhip ſeems to me to ſet out with ſome embarraſment; for you immediately confound Taſte with Science, which ſurely are two very diſtinct things. A man may have a vaſt deal of Knowledge, or what is commonly called Learning; and yet have no good Taſte at all. And here, more opportunely for the illuſtration of what I am ſaying, than for your own purpoſe, you introduce "the incomparable BENTLEY, as ſtanding in the "foremoſt rank of modern Critics:" of Grammatical and Verbal Critics, I agree with you. He could judge, with great penetration, of the age of an Author, by the dialect, the phraſe, and the matter; by Thericlean cups, and Sicilian talents: this was his proper ſphere of Science, and in this he excelled. But in matters of pure Taſte, a fine diſcernment of the different characters of compoſition, colours of ſtyle, and manners of thinking, of the interior beauties and excellencies of writing; in regard to all this, what was he? *Unus caprimulgus aut foſſor.* What then has he to do here?

You

You propoſed to conſider the point before us, as an argument from Taſte; not as a queſtion merely of Verbal and Grammatical Criticiſm. However, as You lead the way, I ſhall endeavour to follow you.

Your Lordſhip denies then, that there is any foundation for forming even a tolerable judgment, concerning the time of any one of the writers of the Old Teſtament from his ſtyle and manner; and you treat all ſuch judgment as affected and pedantic. The reaſons which you give for this deciſion are, the preſent condition of the Hebrew language being "the narroweſt of all languages;" and the nature of the Hebrew language in itſelf, being "the moſt barren of all languages;" and moreover, being a language "little ſubject to change, "both from the common genius of the Eaſt, "and the peculiar circumſtances of a ſequeſtered "people."

This laſt reaſon will be eaſily removed out of the way, by juſt obſerving, that it is very improperly urged in the preſent queſtion; which is not concerning a difference of language between writers of diſtant periods, in the flouriſhing times of the Republic; but between writers, before and after the Captivity of Babylon: a revolution, by which this ſequeſtered people were removed from their own to a foreign country, and continued for a long time mixed with foreigners; which greatly corrupted at leaſt, if it did not wholly deſtroy,

their antient language: ſo that notwithſtanding the common genius of the Eaſt, little ſubject to change, here is foundation enough for ſuppoſing a very diſcernible difference of language, in writers ſo differently circumſtanced in this reſpect.

Of the Hebrew Language in its preſent condition "the only remains, you ſay, are contained in "ONE SMALL Volume." So your Lordſhip has at once reduced the whole Hebrew Bible to the compaſs of a nut-ſhell. I think, you might have ſaid more properly Twenty Four Volumes, (according to the antient diviſion of the Jews) if they muſt be SMALL ones. Now, my Lord, give me leave to ſet this matter in another light; or rather, leſt you ſhould ſay I miſrepreſent it, you ſhall do it yourſelf. "The Bible[h] contains a very circum-"ſtantial account of this People, from the time "of Moſes to the great Captivity; not only the "hiſtory of public occurrences, but the lives of "private perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages, "conditions, characters and complexions; in the "adventures of virgins, matrons, kings, ſoldiers, "ſcholars, parents, merchants, huſbandmen. They "are given too in every circumſtance of life; cap-"tive, victorious, in ſickneſs and in health; in "full ſecurity and amidſt impending dangers; "plunged in civil buſineſs, or retired and ſequeſt-"ered in the ſervice of Religion. Together with "their ſtory, we have their compoſitions likewiſe:

[h] Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 395.

"in

" in one place we hear their triumphal; in another, " their penitential ſtrains. Here we have their ex- " ultations for bleſſings received; there, their de- " precations of evil apprehended: here they urge " their moral precepts to their contemporaries; " and there again, they treaſure up their Prophe- " cies and Predictions for the uſe of poſterity; " and on each, denounce the threatenings and pro- " miſes of Heaven." Now all theſe Writings, containing ſo many various matters, treated of by various authors, in verſe and in proſe, of different kinds, and in different manners of compoſition; or (to keep ſtill to your own terms) " this LARGE " and Miſcellaneous Volume[1]," one would think ſhould have preſerved ſo much of the language, as would afford proper and ſufficient materials to work upon: ſo that, with the addition of many other helps, one might attain to a competent knowledge of it, and be able to form a tolerable judgment of the different Styles of the ſeveral Writers. You quote an author, who ſays of the Hebrew Language, as contained in the Old Teſtament, " non " ſuppeditat omnes dictiones loquendi neceſſarias." No more does the Latin Tongue, as contained in the Claſſics. If Solomon's Botanical writings had been preſerved; they would have added conſiderably to our ſtock of Hebrew, and have been of great ſervice in clearing up many particular paſſages, which are now very obſcure: but I do not think,

[1] Divine Legation; Vol. iv, p. 349: note.

they would have helped us much in acquiring a clearer idea of the peculiar ſtyle and manner of compoſition of the ſeveral Authors of the Old Teſtament. Again: if Vitruvius, and the Elder Pliny, and the Authors De Re Ruſtica, had been loſt; our ſtock of Latin would have been much leſſened; and ſome few paſſages in ſome authors remaining might have been rendered very obſcure, and perhaps unintelligible: and yet I believe, we ſhould have been able full as well to have judged of the difference between Salluſt and Eutropius, and between Horace and Auſonius, as to their peculiar ſtyle and manner of compoſition, as we do now.

And as to the Nature of the language in itſelf, which you ſay is the moſt barren of all languages: I take this to be a charge, which you cannot prove. What, did the Hebrew Writers then want words and phraſes, to expreſs properly and fully the ſubjects of which they treated? Far from it. I think, there might be produced from them examples of Amplification, ſet off with as great Copiouſneſs of expreſſion, as from almoſt any Authors whatever. And, in ſeveral inſtances, there are in Hebrew * as many ſynonymous terms and phraſes to expreſs the ſame ideas, as perhaps can be produced, in a like number of inſtances taken at pleaſure, even in the Greek language itſelf.

Your Lordſhip enters further into this ſubject in another place; which I ſhall therefore conſider,

* See Carpzovii Critica Sacra; Par. I, Cap. v, Sect. 4.

" *Amant Hebræi,*" ſays Grotius, as you quote him[1], " *verborum copiam; itaque rem eandem multis verbis* " *exprimunt.* He does not tell us the reaſon;" but your Lordſhip is ſo good as to ſupply it. " It " ariſes from the narrowneſs of the Hebrew lan- " guage, which is the ſcantieſt of all the learned " languages of the Eaſt: for when the ſpeaker's " phraſe comes not up to his ideas (as in a ſcanty " language it often will not) he naturally endea- " vours to explain himſelf by a repetition of the " thought in other words; as he whoſe body is " ſtraitened in room is never relieved but by a con- " tinual change of poſture." A reaſon ſo very refined, that I much ſuſpect it has no good foundation. " The Hebrews are fond of a copiouſneſs " of words; and therefore expreſs the ſame thing " in many words:" or, as you very rightly explain it, " by a repetition of the ſame thought in " other words." Now I think, they would never have been able to ſatisfy this their fondneſs for a copiouſneſs of words, by repeating the ſame thought in other words; unleſs they had had at command different words, to expreſs the ſame thought in: that is, unleſs their language had been copious, and had abounded in ſynonymous or parallel expreſſions. For example: the general ſubject of the CXIX^th^ Pſalm is the Bleſſedneſs of Keeping the Law; which is purſued through Twenty Two Alphabetical Stanzas, of Eight Diſtichs each, with

[1] Divine Legation; Book iv, Sect. 4.

much

much ſameneſs of thought, but great variety of expreſſion. Inſtead of twelve or fourteen ſynonymous terms to expreſs the Law, and at leaſt four times as many parallel phraſes to expreſs the Keeping of it; if you reduce the Pſalmiſt to a ſingle term or two, you ſtrike him dumb: be he ever ſo fond of Pleonaſm, and ever ſo eager to expreſs himſelf copiouſly, he will neither be able to attain, nor ſo much as to teſtify his deſire, unleſs you give him his free range in the natural copiouſneſs of his language. Can it then poſſibly be aſcribed to the Narrowneſs of his language, that the Pſalmiſt repeats his thought ſo often in other words? to his inability, and at the ſame time his eagerneſs, to expreſs himſelf to his ſatisfaction, that he ſo often changes his poſture? On the contrary; do we not evidently ſee, that he ſets out with a formed deſign of amplifying his ſubject to a ſurpriſing extent, upon a plan, that neceſſarily required a Hundred and Seventy Six Diſtichs, upon almoſt the ſame thought, and in confidence of an ample ſtock of words and phraſes to carry him through it? This manner of repeating the ſame thing in ſynonymous or parallel terms prevails throughout the Hebrew Poetry; and is a principal Characteriſtic of the Poetical Style. The Character of the Poetical Style in general muſt ariſe from the Nature of the language; and the Pleonaſtic Character in particular muſt ariſe from the Abundance of parallel terms and phraſes in the language. You conclude your reaſoning thus: "the moſt ſcanty language there-

"fore

"fore will be always fulleſt of repetitions;" that is, "of repetitions of the ſame thought in other "words[m]." This I take to be little better than a contradiction in terms: for a language, that abounds in ſuch repetitions, for that very reaſon cannot be ſcanty; and the Pleonaſtic Character of the Hebrew language, which You ſay aroſe from its being the moſt Scanty of all languages, is on the contrary a demonſtration, that it was in a conſiderable degree Copious.

Indeed, my Lord, you have aggravated this charge of narrowneſs, ſcantineſs, and obſcurity, againſt the Hebrew Language, to an extravagant and even dangerous degree. If the caſe ſhould really be, as You have ſtated it; there is an end of all certainty, and all authority, of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament. But, I hope, it is far otherwiſe. You ſay, that in the moſt antient MSS there was no ſpace left to diſtinguiſh one word from another. I muſt obſerve, that this opinion[n] was propagated by Elias Levita, who quotes the Cabbaliſts as his authors. It was a very convenient principle for them, whoſe buſineſs it was to make as many different ſenſes as poſſible out of one

[m] That I may be ſure not to miſrepreſent his Lordſhip's meaning; I give here his Definition of Pleonaſm, and the Cauſe to which he aſcribes it. "A Repetition of the ſame thing in "different words is called a Pleonaſm." Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 258. "The Pleonaſm aroſe from the want of words," Vol. iii, p. 174.

[n] See Carpzovii Critica Sacra; Par. I, Cap. iii, Sect. v. Bartoloccii Biblioth. Rabbin. Par. iv, p. 186.

and

and the ſame ſentence. But this is affirmed only of one MS, that is, of the Copy of the Law as delivered by Moſes to the Iſraelites; which, according to ſome of the Cabbaliſts, was as one verſe, or, according to others, as one word: which is about as ſenſible a notion, as that other of ſome of the Jews, who ſay, that God pronounced the Ten Commandments all in one breath, without pauſe or diſtinction, as if it had been one continued word only. But this opinion of the Cabbaliſts is not only controverted by the Jewiſh Grammarians and Commentators, and the Talmudiſts; but is overthrown by the very reaſon of the thing, and its own abſurdity. You may ſay, as others have done, that this is actually the caſe of the antient Greek MSS: it is ſo, becauſe the nature of the Greek language allowed of it; and it is not difficult to ſeparate the words ſo confuſed in the Greek MSS, without miſtake or uncertainty. But it would be perhaps impracticable to do it in the Hebrew thus confuſed, and deſtitute of the Vowel-points; as it plainly appears by the example, which one [o], who for certain reaſons has adopted this conceit, has given us in the three firſt words of Geneſis; out of which, written as one word, and arbitrarily divided, he extracts five different ſenſes, and ſays he could extract many more.

Again; "the HEBREW VERITY, you ſay, had "it not been for the Greek Tranſlation, would at

[o] Morinus, Exercitat. Biblicæ; Lib. i, Exerc. vi, Cap. 2.

this

"this day be a mere arbitrary CIPHER." Yes, my Lord, it would be a mere Cipher, to thoſe that have never learnt to read it; and the beſt reading-glaſſes in Bertrand's Shop would never help them to make any thing more of it. But, even though the Greek Tranſlation had never exiſted, (the great uſefulneſs of which I do by no means deny,) yet with the help of the other Dialects, the other antient Verſions, and Paraphraſes, the Maſoretic Pointing, the Grammars and Dictionaries of the later Jews, who certainly did not learn their Hebrew from the Greek Tranſlation; with all theſe aſſiſtances, I ſhould think, that eyes properly qualified might find it ſomething better than a mere Cipher. And however contemptuouſly your Lordſhip may think and ſpeak of the Hebrew Verity, and of thoſe that employ their pains upon it; yet this I will venture to ſay, that he who pretends to ſet up for a deep and critical Expoſitor of the Writers of the Old Teſtament, and of ſome of the moſt difficult of them in particular, with no knowledge, or at beſt a very ſuperficial knowledge, of Hebrew, tho' he may amuſe common readers with fanciful interpretations and ingenious hypotheſes, yet will be eſteemed by proper Judges, as no other than a Quack in Commentatorſhip, and a Mountebank in Criticiſm.

But if the HEBREW VERITY is to be conſidered at this day as a mere Cipher; I wiſh you had furniſhed us with a better Key to it than the Greek

Verſion. For, beſides that the Learned will hardly allow, what you aſſume as inconteſted, that [p] the Hebrew was a living language in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; at which time too only the Pentateuch, that is, but one quarter of the Old Teſtament, was tranſlated into Greek; every one knows, that the Greek Verſion, called the Verſion of the Seventy, has come down to us in a miſerable condition, greatly mutilated, interpolated, and corrupted: and it comes ſo far ſhort of that accuracy, for which the genuine Septuagint Verſion was univerſally celebrated by the Antients, that ſome of the Learned [q], with Archbiſhop Uſher at their head, have made it a matter of doubt, whether the true Verſion of the Seventy be now extant. By a quotation from Abraham Echellenſis, you have made the caſe of the Alcoran parallel to that of the

[p] The beſt Critics are of opinion, that Hebrew was no longer a living language after the return from the Babyloniſh Captivity. Such are, among the Jews, Kimchi, Elias Levita, Ephodæus Grammaticus, &c. among the Chriſtians, Walton, Bochart, Buxtorf, Hottinger, Simon, &c. Not but that there were ſome few, the Prieſts and the old men, who might ſtill retain it. See Walton, Prolegom. iii, 24. Prideaux is much of the ſame opinion, though he places this period a little lower; he ſays, "the Hebrew Language certainly ceaſed to be vulgarly "ſpoken in the time of Ezra." Connect. Vol. i, p. 279. See alſo Vol. ii, p. 29. fol. "A diebus Eſdræ, ſays Maimo-"nides, (Tephil. Cap. xii, Sect. 10) conſueverunt habere "Interpretem, qui populo id interpretaretur, quod Lector ex "lege prælegit, ut ſenſum verborum intelligeret." If this was the caſe at, or ſoon after, the Return from the Captivity; what was it above two hundred and fifty years later, when the Pentateuch was firſt tranſlated into Greek?

[q] See Walton, Prolegom. ix. Fabricii Bibl. Græc. Lib. iii, Cap. xii, 5.

Old

Old Teſtament: but it appears by it, that the Alcoran is ſafe; for it was pointed by proper authority, while the Arabic was a living language; otherwiſe, JAM DE ALCORANO ACTUM ESSET: but as the Old Teſtament has not had the ſame good fortune, to have been pointed by proper authority, while the Hebrew was a living language; it follows from this judicious parallel, JAM ACTUM ESSE DE VETERI TESTAMENTO.

In ſhort, my Lord, through this whole paſſage You have been urging the ſame arguments, that the Fathers Morinus [r] and Simon employed in order to leſſen the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, and ſo to bring us under the yoke of Popiſh Tradition: You have been urging the ſame arguments, that Spinoſa [s] employed in order to deſtroy the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to introduce Infidelity and Atheiſm: You have carried the matter further than even Spinoſa himſelf dared to do: to treat the HEBREW VERITY as a mere CIPHER, this was reſerved for your Lordſhip, and the Author of *Sacerdotiſm Diſplayed* [t], whom I think you ſomewhere repreſent as the forwardeſt Devil of the whole Legion. And does our Chriſtian and

[r] Morini Exercitationes Biblicæ; Lib. i, Exerc. vi, Cap. 2. Simon, Hiſt. Crit. du V. T. Liv. iii, Chap. 2, 3, et paſſim.

[s] Tractatus Theol. Polit. Cap. vii.

[t] See p. 62 of *A Brief Examination of the Divine Legation of Moſes, by a Society of Gentlemen*; Lond. 1742: otherwiſe intitled, in the body of the book, *Sacerdotiſm Diſplayed*; and ſaid to be written by a *Select Committee of the Deiſts and Freethinkers of Great Britain.*

Proteſtant Biſhop join with Papiſts, and Infidels, and Atheiſts ——— Now methinks I hear you crying out aloud againſt *argumenta ad invidiam*: but remember Hobbes and our Profeſſor; there's a Rowland for your Oliver. You, my Lord, are of all the Writers of this age, except perhaps your Friend the Candid Examiner, the perſon who has the leaſt right to complain of ſuch arguments: yet you ſhall ſee, how generouſly I will deal with you. I fairly acquit you of all evil intent, in this ſuſpicious kind of argumentation, or rather this unguarded diſplay of your Hebrew Criticiſm: I impute it all to your Lordſhip's undertaking to treat of a ſubject, with which you appear to be very much unacquainted.

Having obviated the difficulties, which your Lordſhip has thrown in the way, I ſhall now attempt to enter a little further into this ſubject, and to give my opinion a little more particularly of the characters of ſome of the principal Hebrew Writers, and of the difference of ſtyle and manner which may, upon juſt grounds, be obſerved in them; yet only ſo far as may be neceſſary to throw ſome light upon the preſent queſtion, concerning the Age of the Book of Job.

Setting aſide then this Book at preſent as doubtful, Moſes ſtands at the head of the Hebrew Writers; not only in point of time, but in regard alſo of literary merit, as an Hiſtorian, as an Orator, and as a Poet. Whatever defects may be noted in

his

his hiſtory upon the whole, when compared with the more regular and more laboured productions of the poliſhed Hiſtorians of Greece and Rome; yet in many parts of it, he has given evident marks of ſuperior abilities in the character of Hiſtorian. The hiſtory of Joſeph, for inſtance, is an example of ſimple, noble, elegant, intereſting, pathetic narration; of juſtneſs, neatneſs, and perſpicuity of hiſtoric compoſition; to which nothing equal, or in any degree comparable, can be produced from Herodotus or Xenophon, Salluſt or Livy. As an Orator, his exhortations in the Book of Deuteronomy have a force, a ſpirit, and an elegance, equal at leaſt to any thing of the ſame kind in the Prophets of a later age. As a Poet; his Prophetic Ode is ſuperior to every thing of its kind, except perhaps that of Iſaiah, Chap. XIV: and we have in this Ode of Moſes an excellent example of the Poetical Conſtruction, or the Sententious Style characteriſtic of Hebrew Poetry. It appears here in its juſt form, and full beauty; though properly tempered and chaſtiſed, nor carried to its utmoſt preciſion, and moſt laboured accuracy; which would not have been ſo ſuitable to the great ſublimity of the ſubject. And a like inſtance of judgment may be obſerved in Iſaiah's Ode above-mentioned: for though that Prophet is perhaps of all the Hebrew Poets the moſt elegant compoſer in that ſtyle; yet in this Ode he has not aimed at a ſtudied exactneſs of the ſhort ſententious conſtruction*,

* See De Sacra Poeſi Hebr. Præl. xiii, xix, xxviii.

but

but has choſen a more free and flowing manner of compoſition. It may perhaps be ſaid, that this perfect accuracy of the ſententious ſtyle was not yet acquired, but was the late effect of progreſſive refinement: and that for this reaſon the author of Job, who is acknowledged to be very accurate in this manner of writing, was of a later age. That this is not ſo, will evidently appear from other examples of the earlieſt times, which are moſt perfect in the ſententious manner. In ſhort; Moſes's Writings, in various forms and characters of compoſition, are in no reſpect inferior to the productions of later ages of the Jewiſh Republic: and the language of Moſes is the very purity of the Hebrew tongue. However ſucceeding Writers may differ from him in ſtyle and manner; this difference is to be aſcribed to the peculiar turn and genius of thoſe writers, not to any improvements of ſcience, or refinements of language, in a more civilized and poliſhed age.

But further; in the Poetical ſtyle Moſes has not only given ſome excellent examples of his own faculty, but has likewiſe preſerved ſeveral ſpecimens of Poetry from other hands and of a higher age. He has given us the Prophecies of Jacob; which were in all probability delivered down to poſterity in their genuine form, as taken from the mouth of the Patriarch: theſe are in the ſame ſhort ſententious ſtyle; which, as it is the moſt diſtinguiſhing character of the Hebrew Poetry, ſo it appears by this, and other examples, to have been the moſt antient,

antient, the genuine and original mark of it. He has given us the Prophecies of Balaam; which are in this ſtyle the moſt perfect, the moſt poliſhed, the moſt exquiſite examples, that can be produced. There are certain Odes of Horace; which, for their exquiſite taſte, the delicacy of compoſition, purity of diction, and elegance of form, one might ſafely pronounce to be peculiar to the Auguſtan age, and that no ſucceeding age could poſſibly have produced them. The Prophecies of Balaam ſeem to me to have ſomething of this kind of peculiar caſt; a neatneſs, a purity, and preciſion in the ſententious manner, which the later ages ſeldom attained. I hardly know any thing in this kind, which can be ſet in competition with them; except the CXIV^th^ Pſalm, of a later age, (not higher, I gueſs, than the time of David) and ſome parts of Job, of an age, as I ſuppoſe, ſomewhat earlier than that of Balaam. From theſe conſiderations I preſume to mark the age of Moſes, as an age in which Hebrew Compoſition, both in Proſe and Verſe, was arrived at its full form of maturity and perfection; and to conclude, that the Excellence of the compoſition of the Poem of Job is no bar to its being aſcribed to that age, which You, my Lord, I think falſely, repreſent as unciviliſed and barbarous. And upon the moſt ſtrict examination of the ſtyle, manner, language, and poetical compoſition of that Poem, I believe it will appear to all proper judges to be more ſuitable to that age, the age equal or

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ſomewhat prior to the time of Moſes, than to any other whatſoever.

I ſhall very readily grant to your Lordſhip, that the Hebrew language varied very little from the time of Moſes to the Babyloniſh Captivity: nevertheleſs I think we may be allowed to form a judgment of the different ſtyle and manner of different authors in that long period. The peculiar ſtyle and manner of each of the three great Tragedians of Greece, though of nearly the ſame age, is very diſtinct and diſcernible: and yet Sophocles, Euripides, and Æſchylus are not in any proportion ſo different from one another in their ſtyle and manner, as the three great Prophets of the Hebrews, of ages reſpectively not much more diſtant, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezechiel. But what is the difference between theſe, in compariſon of the difference between the Author of the Book of Job and Ezra? Let any one properly qualified to judge in this matter read the plain hiſtorical narrative in the two firſt chapters of Job: it is neat, conciſe, clear in its order and method, pure and elegant in its expreſſion: let him turn to Ezra, and find, if he can, a ſingle Hebrew chapter, on which he can with a ſafe conſcience beſtow any part of this commendation. Let him moreover take into the account this laſt Author's barbarous terms; and then let him tell me fairly, whether he does not find as much difference between theſe two Writers, as between Salluſt and William of Malmſbury. Let him next

look

look into the poetical parts of Job, and let him compare them with any part of Ezra's undoubted writings [w]; and I would then ask him, whether he would not as soon pitch upon Geoffry of Monmouth for the Author of the Æneid, if that were a doubtful point, as Ezra for the Author of the Poem of Job: and I should not much doubt of his answering in the affirmative.

All this, your Lordship may say, is *gratis dictum*; all the mere presumption of Pedantry, the ape of

[w] The Author of Divine Legation, (Book vi, Sect. 2,) gives his favourite Ezra credit as the Writer of the Books of Chronicles and Esther; and has recourse to the tradition of the Jews, that he was the same person with Malachi. If he could prove this latter point, it might be of use to him: for I take the Writer of the Prophecy of Malachi to be much better qualified for *his* purpose than the Writer of the Book of Ezra. But leaving him to make good that point, as he may; why is Ezra "reasonably supposed to be the Author of the two books of "Chronicles, and the book of Esther?" Because, forsooth, the Jews have said so: *that*, I believe, is the best reason that can be given. The latter book indeed is much in the style and language of Ezra; but the narration seems of a better cast. But as for the former part of the supposition, that Ezra was Author of the Chronicles; nothing can well be more unreasonable. Ezra might possibly be the Collector, and Editor, of the books of Chronicles; but certainly was not the Author. For the books of Chronicles are evidently, like the books of Kings, a Collection from the Historical writings of the antient Seers and Prophets. They cite the Books, the Prophecies, and Visions, of Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, &c. The Collector copied the very words of the several Authors; as is manifest from hence, that the books of Kings and Chronicles frequently agree with one another in words, for many sentences together. See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, p. 8. Besides, it may be demonstrably proved, that some parts of the books of Chronicles were written *before* the Babylonish Captivity. See 2 Chron. v, 9; viii, 8; x, 19.

Criticiſm. My Lord, I only give it, with all deference, as my humble opinion: I do no more than expreſs my own ſenſe, and my own feelings: I do not pretend to give mere opinion and conjecture, my own fancies perhaps and ſurmiſes, for Demonſtration. However, upon this opinion, precarious as I acknowledge it to be, I will venture to ſtake my credit: "nec recuſo, quin, quantum de hac "ſententia, tantundem de mei judicii exiſtimatione "detrahatur."

Your Lordſhip is very ſhort upon the laſt argument, touched upon in my offenſive Note; in which I ſhall follow your example: for in truth it does not require much diſcuſſion. "This excellent "Writer" [to wit, the Candid Examiner] "deſired to know of the learned, *Where they could "find a Civil or Religious Conſtitution out of Judea, "which declared, that the Children ſhould ſuffer for "the crime of their Parents.*" As your Lordſhip has here improperly ſtated the queſtion; it is very eaſily anſwered, but nothing to the purpoſe: for by the Laws of every Conſtitution in the world the Children do, in many caſes, ſuffer for the crimes of their Parents; as in the caſe of Confiſcation, Attainder, and the like; and it cannot be otherwiſe. As the Candid Examiner himſelf has rightly ſtated the queſtion, it ſtands thus: "Where did GOD "ever declare, that HE would uſe this mode of "puniſhment, but in the Jewiſh Law?" But this itſelf is very little more to the purpoſe: for whether

ther God ever declared it, or not; or whether the opinion, that God would uſe this mode of puniſhment, be in its nature capable of being made a part of any Civil Conſtitution beſide that of the Jews, or not; yet this opinion may have prevailed in every nation under heaven: which is fully ſufficient to deſtroy your argument. That the ſentiment occurring in Job, "that God layeth up the "Father's iniquity for his Children," is no proof that the Poem muſt have been written by a Jew, I ſhewed by producing the ſame ſentiment from Horace. Your Lordſhip ſays, this is paying with *an old ſong*, giving *rhime for reaſon*; or, in plain Engliſh, taking it out of your facetious language, that it is nothing at all to the purpoſe. What, my Lord, no more to the purpoſe, than

"*Of a noble race was Shinkin?*"

I beg your pardon; I think it not only to the purpoſe, but even deciſive. For if that ſentiment proves, that the Poem of Job was written by a Jew; the ſame ſentiment proves, that the Ode * of Horace was written by a Jew; and that another Ode, commonly alſo ſuppoſed of the ſame Poet, in which the ſame ſentiment likewiſe occurs, was alſo written by a Jew. In truth, the ſentiment in queſtion (whether founded on experience, or reaſon, or revelation, whether true or falſe, it matters not to our purpoſe) is a Popular Opinion, common to all nations, and all ages, of the world. I intimated

* Carm. Lib. iii, Ode vi, 1: and Lib. i, Ode xxviii, 30.

plainly enough, that I could give more examples of the ſame ſort, upon demand: and ſince your Lordſhip ſeems not to be ſatisfied with this, I ſhall add at the bottom of the page a few others [y]. And if required,

[y] Qui (Dionyſius, Syracuſarum tyrannus) tametſi debita ſupplicia non exolvit, dedecore tamen filii mortuus pœnas rependit, quas vivus effugerat. Lento enim gradu ad vindictam ſui divina procedit ira, tarditatemque ſuppliciĭ gravitate compenſat. Valerius Max. Lib. i, Cap. 1.

——— Satis jam pridem ſanguine noſtro
Laomedonteæ luimus perjuria gentis.

VIRGIL. Georg. i, 501.

——— Di capiti ipſius generique reſervent.

VIRGIL. Æneid. viii, 484.

Τα των τικτοντων σφαλματ' εις τους εκγονους
Οι θεοι τρεπουσι.

EURIPIDES, in Excerptis Grotii; p. 423.

Ζευ πατερ, ειθε γενοιτο θεοις φιλα, τοις μεν αλιτρους
Υβριν αδειν, και σφιν τουτο γενοιτο φιλον
Θυμῳ, αθετλια εργα μετα φρεσιν ὁσσις ακτινης
Ερχαζοιτο, θεων μηδεν επιζομενος,
Αυτον επειτα παλιν πασχ κακα, μηδε τ' οπισσω
Πατρος ατωσθαλιη παισι γενοιτο κακον.
Παιδες, δ' οιτ' αδικα πατρος τα δικαια νοεοντες
Ποιεσι, Κρονιδη, σον χολον εξορμαι,
Εξ αρχης τα δικαια μετ' ασφαλιην φιλεοντες,
Μητιν' υπερφιαλων αντιτιθεις πατερων.
Ταυτ' εστι μακαριστα θεοις φιλα· νων δ' ὁ μεν εργων
Εκφευγει, το κακον δ' αλλος επεσται φερει.

THEOGNIS; 729.

Τοιαυτη Ζευς πασιν τισις· ουδ' εφ' ἑκαστῳ,
Ωσπερ θνητος ανηρ, γιγνεται οργυχολος,
Αει δ' ὁτι λελητε δαμαρτηις ὁσσις αλιτρον
Θυμον εχει, παντως δ' ες τελος εξεφανη·

Αλλ'

required, I might perhaps undertake to prove, by the ſame argument by which you have demonſtrated, that Job was written by a Jew, that half the writings of the Greeks and Romans were likewiſe written by the Jews.

"The contemptuous Profeſſor:" —— Yes, my Lord; the Profeſſor does avow a perfect contempt for a miſerable Caviller, who proſtitutes his pen to do the drudgery of an imperious Taſk-maſter. I ſee, my Lord, you have intimated your orders to him to take the Prelections in hand, once more: and may I not hope then for the honour of *your Lordſhip*'s animadverſions? *In good time:* when the Candid Examiner underſtands Latin a little better; and when your Lordſhip has a competent know-

Αλλ' ὁ μεν αυτικ' ετισεν, ὁ δ' ὑστερον· ει δε φυγωσιν
Αυτοι, μηδε θεων μοιρ' επισπαν κιχῃ,
Ηλυθε παντως, αυτικ' αναιτιοι εργα τισουσιν
Οι παιδες τουτων ηγεμονων οπισω.

SOLON; 25.

Τοις δε κακως ῥιζασι δικης τελος κχι χρονιζον
Ουδ' * απαραιτητον, ὁ δ' ει Διὸς εγγονοι εισιν.
Αλλ' αυτων κεφαλησι κχι εν σφετεροισι τεκνοισιν
Ειλεται, κχι πημα δομοις επι πηματι βαινει.

Oraculum Delph. apud Ælian. Var. Hiſt. Lib. iii, 43.

* Lege f. Ουδε παραιτητον.

See alſo the Electra of Sophocles, ver. 505: and laſtly, Plutarch's Treatiſe, intitled, *De his qui ſero a Numine puniuntur*; the greater part of which (from p. 556. Edit. Francofurt 1599, fol.) is upon the ſame ſubject.

ledge

ledge of Hebrew. And *a little more civility* too may *not be amiſs*: for if he, who has *demoliſhed* the Appendix, *ſhould take it into his head to examine* the Book itſelf; he might poſſibly make ſome havock in *The Divine Legation of Moſes Demonſtrated.*

In the mean time I reſt,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt humble Servant,

*A Late Profeſſor*

in THE UNIVERSITY of

OXFORD.

*Auguſt* 31, 1765.

# APPENDIX;

CONTAINING

A FORMER

LITERARY CORRESPONDENCE.

# LETTER I.

## To The Reverend Dr W.

Winchester Sept. 9. 1756.

Dear Sir,

OUR good Friends Dr C. and Mr S. have agreeably to your desire communicated to me some particulars of the conversation, which you have lately had with them relating to me: from which I collect, that you think you have reason to be offended with me on account of some things which I have said in my Prælections for the ensuing of the Book of Job, which you look upon as aimed against you; and that you expect that I should explain myself on this head. I am much obliged to you for the regard which you have been pleased to express for me, and for your candid and generous manner of dealing with me on this occasion: and I shall endeavour to return it by dealing as fairly and as openly with you.

The reasons for my treating of the Book of Job in the manner which I have done, lest they should be mistaken, I have there given; and that I must

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The reasons for my treating of the Book of Job in the manner which I have done, lest they should be mistaken, I have there given; and that I might

not give offence, have prefaced thoſe Lectures with an Apology, which was perhaps unneceſſary. Having examined and conſidered the Subject as well as I was able, I found myſelf obliged to differ in opinion from ſeveral Writers of great Authority in the Republic of Letters; ſuch as Grotius, Le Clerc, Biſhop Hare, Yourſelf, and many others: it was not my buſineſs, and much leſs was it my deſire, to enter into a formal diſpute with any one; all I had to do was to declare in a few words my own ſentiments, and to explain my Hypotheſis, ſo far as to make myſelf underſtood, when I came to treat of the ſubject; which it was abſolutely neceſſary for me to treat of, as being a principal and eſſential part of my plan. I thought the Book of Job the moſt antient extant, that it had no relation to the affairs of the Iſraelites, that it was neither Allegorical nor properly Dramatic; in all which I diſagreed not only with You, but with one, or other, or all, of the Authors above-mentioned, and a hundred others, whom I need not name to you now, nor was it at all more neceſſary for me to name them then. You ſeem to think I ought to have quoted you, or referred to your Book: and a Friend of yours charges me with writing againſt you, and being afraid of you. Your Friend is miſtaken in both theſe particulars; and the ground of your complaint I cannot poſſibly comprehend. Why ſhould I ſingle out you, and attack you for opinions, which were common to you with twenty other Authors of note? would this have been a

mark

mark of reſpect to you? would it not rather have argued a buſy and a litigious ſpirit in me? There were ſeveral living Writers of great Learning and Eminence, who ſtood juſt in the ſame ſituation with regard to me, that you did. What ſhould I have done? Should I have agreed with you all? that was impoſſible. Should I have complimented you all, or ſhould I have contended with you all? to have done either would have been equally unneceſſary and impertinent. I have never heard, that any of thoſe Gentlemen have been offended with me, for acting with reſpect to them juſt in the ſame manner as I have done with reſpect to you.

But You too it ſeems think, that I have written againſt you; that is, that I have aimed at you in particular, and attacked opinions that are peculiarly yours. I have upon this occaſion taken a review of your Diſſertation, and of my own Lectures, and cannot find upon what it is that you ground this charge. I have marked the paſſages in the latter which ſeemed moſt likely to have given you umbrage, and beg you would give yourſelf the trouble to turn to them. Pag. 312. *Nunquam in dubium* &c. this cannot poſſibly be underſtood of you, being plainly reſtrained to thoſe who conclude, that if the Poem be Parabolical, therefore the Story is Fictitious; the abſurdity of which you yourſelf expoſe. In P. 319, I refer to the diſpute on the Text ſuppoſed to relate to the Reſurrection; to the Biſhop of London, Dr Hodges &c. I believe, I

had not you then in my thoughts; however if I had, I ſee nothing that ſhould offend you or any one. Pag. 320, obſerve, that I ſpeak of the opinion, that the Poem is Dramatic, as what has for ſome time almoſt univerſally prevailed among the Learned. Beſides, I do not ſee how the queſtion, whether the Poem be ſtrictly Dramatic or not, at all affects your main argument. So that this Diſcourſe upon the whole cannot be ſuppoſed to be directed particularly againſt you. In the next page I point out more particularly the Authors whom I have in view, by uſing their own expreſſions: *loquuntur enim* &c. To give you full ſatisfaction here, and at the ſame time to ſave you and myſelf the trouble of a multitude of references, I beg leave to refer you only to two ſhort paſſages: Biſhop Hare's note at the end of the CVII^th^ Pſalm; and Calmet's Preface to Job, about the middle, the Paragraph begins with, *Mais ſans nier* &c. where you will find enough to account for every thing I have there ſaid, and even for every expreſſion which I have uſed. If there are any other paſſages which offend you as meant of you particularly, I aſſure you moſt ſincerely that they have eſcaped my notice; be ſo good as to point them out to me, and I will endeavour to give you further ſatisfaction.

Upon the whole, I did not mean to offend, neither do I think I have given any cauſe of offence. The ſubject lay at leaſt as much in my way, as it did in yours: I had as good a right to purſue my

ſubject,

ſubject, and to deliver my ſentiments with freedom, as you had. I could not have ſpoken upon it at all without diſſenting from you in conjunction with many others, and I don't know how I could have ſignified my diſſent more inoffenſively. I cannot have miſrepreſented your particular notions, for I never intended to repreſent them at all, nor had I any thing to do with them. Nay, as far as I can recollect, I verily believe, that at the time when I wrote thoſe Lectures I had not your book before me; ſo far was it from my intention to cavil at your Diſſertation. In a word, my Lectures, and every expreſſion in them, might have ſtood juſt as they do now, though your Diſſertation on Job had never been written.

I beg the continuance of that regard and eſteem, which you have been ſo kind as to expreſs towards me: I will not now tell you how highly I ſhall prize it: your Friend above-mentioned, the Author of the Diſſertation on the Delicacy of Friendſhip has ſtopped my mouth, and makes me very cautious of ſaying any thing that may be conſtrued into flattery or fear of you. I call him your Friend, becauſe I ſuppoſe he pretends be ſo: what your opinion of him is, I cannot tell; but I think you owe him little thanks for his pains. He has at leaſt ſhewn more zeal than diſcretion in the undertaking, and more malevolent wit than good ſenſe or honeſt intention in the performance; the manifeſt tendency of which is to ſow ſtrife, and to foment diſcord; and its natural effect, if it has any, muſt be to leſ-

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ſen the number of thoſe, who wiſh well to you and your deſigns: and I ſay ſo much of it in order to aſſure you, that it will not have that effect with me.

As to my opinions, if they ſtand at all in your way, and if you ſhould think them worthy of your notice, I aſk not your favour for them: you will treat them as you ſhall think your own cauſe and the cauſe of truth requires. I do not as yet ſee any reaſon to depart from them; but am not ſo fond of them, as to be inclined to enter into a diſpute with any one in defence of them. I ſhall be offended with no man merely for differing from me in ſentiment upon any ſubject; much leſs upon points ſo very doubtful, and upon which no two perſons, out of all that examine and judge for themſelves, either ever have agreed, or probably ever will perfectly agree. As to the manner in which you ſhall treat them, I leave it entirely to your own conſideration; I ſhall be very little concerned about it. If you uſe me otherwiſe than I deſerve, your own character will ſuffer, and not mine. Lay aſide all regard to me upon this occaſion; but reſpect Yourſelf and the Public.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

R. L.

## LETTER II.

### To The Reverend Dr L.

Prior Park [Sept.] 17. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I HAD, this day, the favour of your Letter of the 9th, and think my ſelfe much obliged to our two Brethren for this good office, which I hope will have the deſired effect: And to promote it, all I can, I will follow your example in the frankneſs and openneſs of this eclairciſſement.

My complaint was not for your differing from me; nor yet for your manner of expreſſing that difference; but for, what I conceived to be, a miſrepreſenting me. — You yourſelfe ſhall be judge. P. 64 — non eo quod *permanere poſt mortem animos non crederent*, quod doctis quibuſdam placuit; ſed —— You won't deny that I am here meant. Yet you might have underſtood by my book, that I hold, " that the early, as well as later, Jews believed the permanency of the Soul; only, having nothing, in their Law, of a ſtate of future rewards and puniſhments, the early Jews had no intereſting reflections concerning that permanency, and paid no attention to it.

P. 65

P. 65 — neque eos hac in parte vel minimum ſacri codices adjuvere; haud quia hanc iis cognitionem *invideret* Divina Revelatio, ſed quia — Was it not invidious, to inſinuate that I had repreſented divine Revelation as *envying* or grudging the Jews this bleſſing? when I had ſhewn the reaſon to be, that it did not belong to their Œconomy; not for that ſtrange reaſon, quia humanæ mentis conditio eam omnino non recipiat, but becauſe the doctrine of life and immortality was reſerved for another Teacher. I call your reaſon, a ſtrange one, becauſe the moſt ignorant and unlettered are capable of comprehending all that Chriſtianity teaches concerning this matter. But I apprehend, in the words I here allude to, you entirely miſtake the queſtion you was upon —— Qualis itaque ab animis a corpore ſejunctis vita viveretur, quis eorum locus, forma, conditio, Hebræi *juxta cum cæteris mortalibus* in ſumma ignoratione verſabantur. For the queſtion was not, Whether the reſt of mankind had *juſter* notions of the ſtate and condition of the ſoul in a ſtate of ſeparation; but Whether they had not the national beliefe of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in general, which the Jews wanted. It is this alſo, which is the proper ſubject for *poetic* ornament, (the thing you are upon) not the metaphyſic truth of things, which is too meagre for this entertainment; (as you may ſee by the 6th B. of Virgil) as well as too abſtracted for the *condition of the human mind.*

P. 321.

P. 321. — Cum Poema Jobi pro *vero* ac *legitimo* Dramate *cujuſmodi ſunt Græcorum Tragœdiæ* minime haberi poſſe contenderem —— Had the reflection ended here, I could not poſſibly have gueſſed whom you had in your eye: Becauſe, I believe, no critic on this ſide the cape of good hope ever ſaid or thought, the book of Job to be of the ſpecies of the greek Drama. But when I read the following words — Hoc autem ut concedamus, vix erit ſatis; Sunt qui majus quiddam poſtulare videntur. Loquuntur enim de rerum conſtitutione, de Cataſtrophe dramatis, Θεον απο μηχανης induci dicunt —— iiſdem certe vocibus utuntur &c. When I read this, I ſay, I could no longer doubt, that *I only* was meant; becauſe I ſpeak of all theſe things; and of the *God from the machine*, no one could ſpeak but me; becauſe no one elſe, in their interpretations of the book of Job, contended for the thing underſtood by it. You ſeem your ſelfe to have been ſenſible that this needed a ſoftening, by your corrective, — *iiſdem certe vocibus utuntur*. Perhaps tho', you may think, that my applying the terms of the Greek ſtage, to this book, fairly inferred that I ſuppoſed the writing to be of the ſame ſpecies. If ſo, give me leave to obſerve, I could do no other, tho' I thought it of a different ſpecies. Whoever goes about to ſhew that a work is of ſuch or ſuch a *genus*, if he would write intelligibly he cannot avoid uſing the terms of that *ſpecies* of it, which is beſt known and underſtood. Thus when I ſay, Religion compoſes a *Society*, and, in my account of

the nature of this Society, I make uſe of the words, Magiſtrates, Laws, Sanctions (words which properly belong to civil Society) am I to be underſtood as holding, that Religion is of that *Species*, called civil Society, or that it is of the *genus* only of Society? But to prove, you are diſpoſed to do as much honour to the book of Job as any man, you conclude, by ſhewing, that the book has not all the artifice of the Greek drama; yet the Compoſer was capable of giving it that advantage. —— Profecto qui reputabit &c. is nunquam poterit ſine ſummâ admiratione intueri tot ante ſæculis natum Poema, tam pulchrè inventum, tam ſolerter diſpoſitum, tam perfectè expletum, tam ſingularis exempli, quod ſimilitudinem atque imaginem quandam Dramatis ſtatim arripuit, unde non difficile fuiſſet ad ipſum abſoluti operis exemplar aſcendere &c. Which would put one in mind of the religious caution of good Sir R. Blackmore, who, in his paraphraſe of this famous book, aſſures us, that tho' he will not poſitively affirm, that Job actually *waſhed his feet in butter*, yet he makes it plainly out, that Job's Dairy afforded butter enough for that purpoſe.

And now, Sir, reflect a little without prejudice: and aſk your ſelfe, Whether theſe paſſages bear the leaſt mark of good, or even of indifferent will, towards me; tho' I ſhould allow (as I am very ready to do) that you had no formed intention of miſrepreſenting me.

If

If you ſhould ſay, your deſign was that they ſhould neither bear the marks of good, or of evil will, towards me, (this neutrality being all, as your letter ſeems to hint, I had to expect of you) then let me go on to a paſſage or two, which ſeem to ſpeak your diſpoſition ſtill ſtronger.

P. 312 — nimirum carmen hoc in Iſraelitarum ſolatium compoſitum fuiſſe, eorumque res aliquo modo adumbrare; quam ipſum eſſe VANISSIMUM arbitror: cum morum, rituum, rerum Iſraeliticarum, *nulla veſtigia*, nullam ſpeciem, aut umbram reperio. I dare appeal to your ingenuity, that I muſt needs be here meant. And will your politeneſs allow you to ſay, that the *vaniſſimum* was civil; or your modeſty, that the *nulla veſtigia* was decent, when I believe moſt competent readers are agreed, that there are infinitely more and ſtronger marks that the affairs under the Theocracy are alluded to, than that Auguſtus is ſhadowed under Virgil's Hero. Nor can I well reconcile this dogmatical ſentence with what you ſay in your letter, of the *ſo doubtful* nature of the queſtion we are divided about, where you attempt to ſhew how little reaſon I have to be offended with thoſe who differ from me.

Again you ſay, Nunquam in dubium vocata fuiſſet Hiſtoriæ [Jobi] veritas, niſi Allegoriarum Conquiſitoribus tantum placuiſſent ſuæ fictiones, ut nihil amplecti vellent quod non umbratile eſſet & commentitium. Now I will readily allow, that if, by theſe Allegoriſers, you mean thoſe who annihi-

late the litteral ſenſe, you could not mean me; becauſe, as you obſerve, I have expoſed their folly. But would it have been more than juſtice, when you uſed ſuch general expreſſions, to have diſtinguiſhed my Allegory from theirs? Again, If it ſhould be aſked, Why ſo much unwillingneſs to have the book of Job an Allegory, and ſo much readineſs to admitt Solomon's Song to be an *entire Allegory?* Could you give a better reaſon than this, that the latter opinion is eſtabliſhed orthodoxy, and the former, yet, a paradox? But, a word in your ear; Can you poſſibly be ſerious in ſaying, of Solomon's Song, *omnino eſſe Allegoricum?* I pay you a compliment in this queſtion: tho' I made it only to ſhew you, that I treat you in the freedom and confidence of a friendly Altercation[a].

To proceed with your Letter. The general turn of it is to ſhew me, that I am unreaſonable in expecting common civilities from you, in a book where I lay ſo much in your way. Now give me leave to think, you ſeem neither rightly to underſtand your ſelfe, nor me. My ſervices to religion and Society ſeem to intitle me to common reſpect, when my opinions are controverted and decried, from every man of letters, engaged in the ſame cauſe, where no perſonal animoſities have inter-

[a] The latter part of this Paragraph, as imparted in confidence, and the anſwer to it likewiſe, would have been here ſuppreſſed: but it was judged altogether unneceſſary to do ſo, when it was obſerved, that the ſame ſecret had been whiſpered in confidence to the ear of the Public, in Div. Leg. Vol. v, p. 63, Note.

vened.

vened. To *neglect* this, is not knowing the world: to *decline* it muſt be from fear of giving offence. If therefore the Author of the *delicacy of friendſhip* thought, a Writer of ſo much caution and reſerve, might be as backward to give offence to *me*, as to others, and for the ſame prudential reaſons, he was very excuſable, in his conjecture.

But you tell me, you are not afraid of me; and you affect to tell me ſo, again and again. All I will ſay to this is, that whoever injures me may not, at the long run, have reaſon to applaud his ſituation. But no man need be afraid of him he has not injured. And I am very ready to believe, that it is a conſciouſneſs of that, which makes you ſo brave. For my own part, I am not fond of reſenting that, as an injury, which was never intended.

You ſpeak your ſentiments of the Author and the Pamphlet on the *delicacy of Friendſhip*: allow me to tell you mine. You make it a kind of queſtion, whether he be my friend. This is natural. Your notion of the commerce, amongſt learned men, in letters, may make you a little dazzled with ſuch a friendſhip, in the commerce of life. The Author, (if I know who was the Author, for the pamphlet was publiſhed before I had ſo much as heard of the contents) is a man of very ſuperior talents of genius, learning, and virtue; indeed a principal ornament of the age he lives in: ſo that was I to wiſh a bleſſing to the man I was moſt obliged to, I could not wiſh him a greater than the friendſhip

of

of ſuch a perſon. And I not only hold my ſelfe highly honoured, and obliged to him, for this mark of his good will towards me, but think the diſcourſe very ſerviceable to men of Letters, if they would condeſcend to make a proper uſe of it. He tries, in the fineſt irony in the world, to ſhame them out of that deteſtable turn of mind which, either out of a low envy is unwilling to give merit its due, or out of mean and baſe apprehenſions dare not do it, for fear of its being unacceptable to their Superiors: And it was impoſſible for him to have choſen a properer object of his ſatire than the man he has choſen. The only thing blamable, and which, by the way, is the only real ground of offence, is his extravagant commendation of me. And if the generoſity and *immoderate* warmth of a friendly heart will not excuſe him (as it would be a wonder if ſo unexperienced a thing, ſhould) I know myſelf ſo well, as to be conſcious, he has nothing better to urge.

To draw to a concluſion. You ſay, I am at liberty to purſue my own meaſures, *if your opinions ſtand at all in my way.* I will aſſure you, they do not. If I had any purpoſe of examining them, it was only while I thought my ſelfe injuriouſly treated. You aſſure me I was not. The negligence of it, I can very well bear.

However, you adviſe me to *reſpect my ſelfe and the Public.* How ready I am to follow it, you may underſtand by my paſt conduct. Can more reſpect

be

be ſhewn the Public, by an Author, than by never giving any thing to them but what he deemed of high importance to the intereſts of Religion and Society? And can juſter reſpect be ſhewn to my ſelfe, than, when I have been attacked, in the moſt injurious manner, by above a hundred Scribblers of all ranks and profeſſions, never to committ my ſelfe with above two or three? not to mention that principal reſpect to ones ſelfe, the never *beginning* a literary altercation with any man.

It would anſwer no end to tell you, what I thought of the Author of the *Hebrew Poetry*, before I ſaw him. But this I may ſay, that I was never more ſurprized, when I did ſee him, than to find him of ſo amiable and gentle manners, of ſo modeſt, ſenſible and diſengaged a deportment. It would not have diſpleaſed me to find my ſelfe ill uſed by Pedants and Bigots; but it grieved me to think, I had any thing to explain, with ſuch a man.

You have here, Dear Sir, a faithful picture of my mind; frank but honeſt; and, if plain, yet generous; above all, a Lover of Truth and good Men: Not the moſt forbearing when I think my ſelf ill treated; but ready to be reconciled by the leaſt ſhadow of a ſatisfaction.

Such as I am, I am at your ſervice; that is,

Your faithful and very obedient Servant,

W. W.

# LETTER III.

## To The Reverend Dr W.

Wincheſter Oct. 6. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I AM in the firſt place to return you my ſincere thanks for the candor of your ſentiments and expreſſions with regard to me in ſeveral parts of the Letter with which I am favoured: for your readineſs to allow that I had no formed intention of miſrepreſenting you; to believe that I was conſcious I had not injured you; to admit of the leaſt ſhadow of a ſatisfaction; and (if I do not flatter my wiſhes by interpreting your words too much in my favour) even to honour me with your friendſhip. Your remaining ſtill unſatisfied with my expreſſions, tho' you abſolve me of any ill intention, is a circumſtance that makes your preſent diſpoſition towards me but the more obliging: and I ſhould make but an ill return to it, unleſs I uſed my beſt endeavours to give you perfect ſatisfaction. This taſk therefore I reſume very willingly, and with full confidence of ſucceeding in it.

I was not informed that your complaint extended to any part of my book beſide the Lectures on Job;

ſo

ſo could not think of looking after any other paſſages that might be liable to ſuſpicion. But you begin with p. 64 &c. As you have totally miſtaken my deſign throughout this paſſage, and many of my expreſſions, the readieſt way to ſatisfy you with regard to it, will be to aſcertain my meaning. My purpoſe was to ſhew, that the Sacred Poets in deſcribing the State of the Dead make uſe of ſenſible Images taken from their manner of Sepulture; and to give the reaſons why they deſcribe it in this manner, and in this only: namely, becauſe the ſubject is really inexplicable in any other way; becauſe we have no idea of the metaphyſical nature of the Soul, of its form, ſituation, and manner of exiſtence in a ſeparate ſtate; becauſe, from the nature of the human faculties, the Inſpired Writers could have no advantage above others in this caſe; and becauſe they had no Syſtematical Metaphyſics to help them out, and to enable them to talk themſelves and others, as the modern Philoſophers do, into a perſuaſion that they really know ſomething of the matter. Theſe I ſay were the reaſons for their invariably expreſſing themſelves in this way: not that they wanted the knowledge of the permanency of the Soul after death, as certain Learned perſons have held. ——— So much for the courſe of my reaſoning in general: now for my particular expreſſions. "Qualis itaque — haud quia hanc "cognitionem iis invideret Divina Revelatio, ſed" &c. *hanc cognitionem*, nimirum, qualis ab animis a corpore ſejunctis vita viveretur, quis &c. not

the general Knowledge of a Future State, the plain Doctrine of Life and Immortality; but the particular Knowledge of the eſſence of the Soul, its manner of exiſtence in a ſeparate ſtate, its place, form, and condition. I had ſaid but juſt before, that the Vates Sacri, the Inſpired Writers, were poſſeſs'd of the belief of the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Reſurrection of the Body: here I ſay that the Hebrews in general, Inſpired Writers and all, were in the ſame caſe with all other mortals, and wholly deſtitute of *this* Knowledge; that is, not ſurely of the Immortality, but of the Metaphyſical Nature of the Soul. I never ſpoke of Divine Revelation's grudging the former to any: nor of the latter, as if it could be a bleſſing to any. Be ſo good now as to review this paſſage fairly, and ſee if I am chargeable with the abſurd reaſoning, the miſtaking the queſtion, the miſrepreſentations, and invidious reflections upon you, which you impute to me. I have ſaid, that the Inſpired Writers (and obſerve that I confine it to them all along) believed the Immortality of the Soul; tho' certain Learned perſons have denied, that they did believe it: are you one of thoſe Learned perſons? have not you declared your ſentiments upon that head, and in the affirmative, that the Inſpired Writers had the knowledge and belief of a Future State? have not you proved, that Moſes knew the Immortality of the Soul, and that it is deducible from his Writings? that the Prophets gave ſtrong intimations of it, and gradually revealed it? How then could

you

you poſſibly ſuppoſe, that you were here meant? Have I ſaid one word of the national belief of the Jews, or of a Future State's being contained in, or making a part of the Moſaic diſpenſation; of its being or not being a Sanction of their Law, or any thing elſe, which could lead you away ſo totally out of ſight of my meaning? Have I expreſſed myſelf vaguely, inaccurately, obſcurely? I think, I have not; at leaſt I profeſs 'tis beyond my ability to do it better in a language not familiar to me. Did not you rather read it with prejudice, with an unreaſonable jealouſy and ſuſpicion, that determined you to take offence, whether it was given or no? But enough of this, I hope. I ſhall only add, in order to be as explicit with you as poſſible, that the Author whom I principally had in view was Le Clerc: ſee his Comment. Index ad Hagiogr. in voce *Immortalitas*.

You inſiſt upon the paſſage P. 321, as meant of you, and of *you only*; "becauſe you ſpeak of the things there mentioned; and of the *God from the Machine* no one could ſpeak but you; becauſe no one elſe, in their interpretations of the Book of Job, contended for the thing underſtood by it." Now I had not only intimated to you before, that if my only deſign had been to deſtroy your Hypotheſis, I ſhould have beſtowed my pains to little purpoſe, by urging an argument that could not affect it; for allowing Job to be, as I contend, not a juſt Drama, but a mere Dialogue, your Allego-

ry, as far as I can ſee, ſtands juſt where it did before: but moreover, to give you full ſatisfaction on this head, I had referred you to two ſhort paſſages, in which alone you might have found enough to account for every expreſſion I have there uſed. By your not being ſatisfied, I conclude that you have not looked on thoſe paſſages to which I referred you; perhaps you had not the Books at hand. I will therefore tranſcribe them for you. I ſhall add no more upon this article; and ſhall expect to hear no more of it from you. Calmet, *Preface ſur Job*; he is recounting the ſentiments of ſeveral Writers: —— " Il s' eſt trouvé pluſieurs Ecrivains qui ont doutè de la veritè de l' hiſtoire qu' il contient. Ils traitent de paraboles & d' allegories tout ce qui y eſt raconté. Ils veulent que Job, &c. ſoient de noms feints & empruntez; que tout ce recit ſoit fait à plaiſir; — une piece de Poeſie; — non ce qui étoit en effet, mais ce qui pouvoit être. Pour appuyer cette opinion on releve le merveilleux — de cette hiſtoire. Un Prince puiſſant, heureux, &c (a ſhort account of the ſubject) —— Dieu entre dans cette diſpute, paroit dans un tourbillon, comme l' on dit: *Deus e machina*; Il juge en faveur de Job, condamne ſes amis, & retablit le premier dans tout ſes biens. Quoi de plus ſemblable que tout cela à une *Tragedie?* Les *Actes*, les *Scenes*, les *Perſonnages*, le *Denoüement*, le *Marveilleux*, tous les *Characteres*, y ſont admirablement bien obſervez. Les trois premiers Chapitres ſont comme le *Prelude* de la piece. Ils en expliquent le

ſujet;

ſujet ; ils ſont connoitre les perſonnages. Le premier *Acte* commence au Chap. III, & finit au Ch. XV. Le ſecond *Acte* commence au Ch. XV, & finit au Ch. XXII. Le 3me *Acte* commence au Ch. XXII, & finit au Ch. XXX. C' eſt en cet endroit que Dieu ſe fait voir, & fournit le Denoüement de le Tragedie." —— Biſhop Hare, Note on Pſ. CVII. 40. " Liceat hic obiter obſervare librum iſtum (Jobi) non modo metro, ut Pſalmos, ſcriptum eſſe, ſed certiſſime Drama ſacrum eſſe ; quod cum aliis argumentis, tum *hoc maxime* conſtat ; quod ſi totum librum in ſeptem æquales partes dividas, quatuor implent Jobus & tres amici ejus, primis capitibus connumeratis, quintam Jobus ſolus, ſextam Elihuus, ſeptimam Deus." (He muſt mean that theſe ſeven parts were ſtrictly ſpeaking ſeven *Acts* ; elſe how is this the ſtrongeſt argument, or indeed any argument at all, of its being a Drama ?) " Elihuus Dei cauſam in ſe recipit ; — Deus vero ipſe tandem introducitur ; — ut mæſtiſſimo Dramati Καταστροφη tandem felix obtingat."

Pag. 312. Here you think I am wanting in decency and civility with regard to you ; and charge me with talking dogmatically. I had but juſt before, in the Paragraph immediately preceding, deſired to be underſtood as propoſing what I had to ſay, non quaſi comperta ac plane percepta, ſed in opinione poſita ; and p. 294, had profeſſed, that upon this Subject I ſhould rather give the opinions of others than my own. And here I deliver it as

my

my opinion, in which as you well know I only follow many Authors generally eſteemed to be as competent judges in this caſe as any whatever, that the Allegorical Interpretation of Job is entirely groundleſs, or, if you pleaſe, falſe; for that for my part I cannot find any traces in it of the manners, rites, or affairs of the Iſraelites. You ſay, "you believe moſt competent readers are agreed, that there are *infinitely more and ſtronger marks* that the affairs under the Theocracy are alluded to, than that Auguſtus is ſhadowed under Virgil's Hero." A very modeſt recounting of preſumptive votes in your favour truly! I am as fully perſuaded as I can be upon any ſuch point, that there neither is, was, or ever will be, I do not ſay ſuch an agreement of moſt competent readers, but any one competent reader in the world of this opinion; nor can I believe that, with all the prejudice of hypotheſis poſſeſſing you, you can upon recollection poſſibly think ſo yourſelf. —— But as for my expreſſions which you object to; if you had uſed the ſame upon a like occaſion in your writings, I believe they never would have been ſelected as remarkably deficient in point of civility and decency, nor as the moſt flagrant inſtance to be found there of the Dogmatical.

The next paſſage in the ſame page you give up, and allow that it could not be meant of you; but think that I ought to have diſtinguiſhed your Allegory from that of others. I ſhould rather have

reſtrained

reſtrained it, by my expreſſion, as well as by the circumſtances, to thoſe whom it only concerned: I ſhould have ſaid *quibuſdam* Allegoriæ conquiſitoribus; and I will correct it ſo, if ever I have an opportunity. As to my admitting Solomon's Song to be an Allegory, at the ſame time that I denied Job to be ſuch; it was, I aſſure you, neither out of perverſeneſs with regard to you, nor for fear of appearing unorthodox. I think there is a material difference between the two caſes: if you deny Job to be an Allegory, I ſee no ill conſequence; it ſtands juſt where it did: but if you deny that Solomon's Song is an Allegory, you muſt exclude it from the Canon of Holy Scripture; for it holds its place there by no other tenure. You may laugh at me, but I am really in earneſt in ſaying, that I am inclined to think Solomon's Song to be altogether Allegorical: I have given my reaſons for it; and do not yet think the difficulties that ſtand in the way of the Allegorical Interpretation equal to that of ſuppoſing, that Ezra, or whoever they were that ſettled the Canon of Scripture, would ever have admitted a looſe and profane Poem into the number and rank of their Sacred and Inſpired Writings.

You are pleaſed to ſay, "that the general turn of my Letter is to ſhew you, that you are unreaſonable in expecting common civilities from me, in a book where you lay ſo much in my way." Give me leave to ſtate my deſign, as I imagine, more juſtly:

juſtly: it was to ſhew you, that you did not lie ſo much in my way, as to have made it either neceſſary, or proper, or indeed not even extremely impertinent, for me to have entered into a diſpute with you. If I had really, as you ſay, neglected paying you common reſpect, or declined it for fear of giving offence, you might eaſily have ſuggeſted to yourſelf a proper plea for the prudence and juſtneſs of my conduct. To profit by the experience of others is the beſt uſe one can make of Knowledge of the world: the experiment of paying you a proper reſpect on a like occaſion had not ſucceeded well with others; a ſufficient reaſon why I ſhould not try it again. For inſtance, and it is a caſe in point; the Learned and Ingenious Dr Grey gave an Edition of Job, and in his Preface had occaſion to ſpeak of the ſeveral prevailing opinions concerning the deſign of the Book; he found himſelf obliged to diſſent from you; he expreſſed his diſſent in a decent manner; he treated you with candor, civility, and reſpect. What was the conſequence? you were highly offended; you looked upon him as an enemy, marked him as an object of your reſentment, and treated him in a manner equally unworthy of him and yourſelf. After this you ought not to wonder, if no writer on Job ſhould care to have any thing to ſay to you.

To have done with Job: I cannot help noting another paſſage of mine upon that ſubject, which you have introduced for no other purpoſe but to pervert

pervert and ridicule it. I am manifeſtly ſpeaking p. 326, of an improvement that might have been made in proceſs of time and by a ſucceſſion of writers; as was the caſe with the Greeks, whoſe advances in this way I obſerve were very ſlow: you dexterouſly ſlip in *the Compoſer*, as if I had ſaid that *He* was capable of making it himſelf; and then laugh at me for an abſurdity of which you are the author. I mention this as another inſtance to ſhew, that you did not read me with that candor and equity which is every writer's due. I ſuppoſe ſome friend of yours, who in the immoderate warmth of his affection reſolves to keep you to himſelf by ſetting you at variance with the reſt of the world, had prejudiced you againſt me, by informing you, that I had treated you with diſreſpect. In conſequence of which, you read my book through with the ſame ſpirit, which you have ſhewn in your gloſs upon the parts produced in your letter; and I need not be ſurpriſed to find, that you thought the Author, as well as the Book, made up of perverſeneſs, abſurdity, and nonſenſe.

You gueſs the true reaſon of my not being afraid of you; and I will give you the reaſon, why I told you ſo. After what your Friend had publiſhed to the world, and what you had ſaid yourſelf, (for your demand of an explanation was attended with a ſort of denunciation of your reſentment, in caſe of a refuſal, or an unſatisfactory account of myſelf) I thought it incumbent upon me to tell you explicitly, and to repeat it, that I was not to be

frightened. I ſhould not have thought of ſetting forth my bravery, if I had not firſt been called a Coward, and accordingly looked upon as one that was to be awed by menaces.

I have now conſidered all your complaints; and ſince we are upon the buſineſs of expoſtulation, and as I hope for the laſt time, you muſt give me leave in my turn to make my own. It is not in behalf of myſelf, but of one for whom I am much more concerned, that is, my Father. In your Julian you bring a heavy charge againſt him of Uncharitableneſs. I have ſeveral objections to the whole paſſage, which I ſhall propoſe to you as diſtinctly as I can.

I. In charging him ſo ſeverely, you do not quote his words; or ſo much as ſay, when or where theſe uncharitable reflections were made: ſo that not one in a hundred perhaps of your readers will know, where to find what he has ſaid, and ſo be able to examine, whether you have charged him juſtly or not.

II. You ſay, that theſe reflections ſtand in the place of a confutation: whereas the confutation precedes them. Mr L. charges Baſnage with wilfully ſuppreſſing the unexceptionable evidence of an honeſt contemporary Heathen, Ammian. Marcellinus: which is as much to the purpoſe in one line, and will go as far towards invalidating his judgement upon the caſe, as all that Criticiſm which you have diſplayed through ſo many pages.

III. You miſrepreſent what he has ſaid: I muſt ſet before you his words; "ſed profecto," ut obſervat

ſervat Iſ. Voſſius, " nullos religio Chriſtiana infen-
" ſiores habet hoſtes, quam ipſos Chriſtianos :"
aut ſaltem qui nomine tenus Chriſtiani videri vo-
lunt : quales ſunt Tan. Faber, Jac. Tollius, aliique
iſtius Commatis Critici. The words *quales ſunt* plainly relate to thoſe only, qui nomine tenus Chriſtiani videri volunt ; and neither of theſe clauſes includes Baſnage. If Mr L. had intended to include him, he ought to have ſaid, quales ſunt *ipſe Baſnagius*, Tan. Faber, &c. or quales *etiam* ſunt T. Faber, &c. or rather he could not have uſed at all with any propriety thoſe words of Voſſius, who ſpeaks of *Sincere* Chriſtians doing diſſervice to the cauſe of Chriſtianity : (De Sybil. Orac. Cap. XI.) Mr L. accordingly cenſures Baſnage, as a Chriſtian and a *real* friend, for his indiſcretion and perverſe oppoſition in this particular caſe ; for a conduct which you allow to be *moſt provoking*, and ſuch *as cannot but give offence to every ſober reader*. His cenſure upon him is carried no further than the words of Voſſius, and really amounts to no more than what you have beſtowed on him yourſelf. Your remarks on what Mr L. has ſaid relate to Baſnage only : Faber and Tollius you leave to ſhift for themſelves ; and they were not either of them Miniſters of the Goſpel : ſo that your laboured amplification, by which you do all you can to aggravate the charge of uncharitableneſs, falls intirely to the ground, as being built only on your own uncharitable miſrepreſentation.

IV. It would have been more generous and juſt in you to have acknowledged yourſelf indebted to

Mr L. for the Application of the meteoric appearance of Croſſes from Cauſaubon's Adverſaria to this Subject; which, when it appeared in your more popular Volume, was received with applauſe, as new and very ingenious; an applauſe which, as you could not but know, belonged to him.

I flatter myſelf that you will acknowledge the truth of theſe remarks; and expect, that when you give a new Edition of your Julian you will do Mr L. common juſtice by rectifying all the above particulars.

You conclude your Letter with ſaying ſomething of me and of yourſelf. What you ſay of me is much more than I deſerve; but you qualify it by intimating, that you found me the very reverſe of my book. Let us e'en compound the matter between the Book and the Author: abate a good deal of one ſide and of the other, and I ſhall be ſatisfied. What you ſay of yourſelf, of your deſigns and your diſpoſition, I moſt readily believe to be true: and aſſure yourſelf, that I always have been, and ſhall be, as ready to acknowledge upon all proper occaſions the ſuperiority of your Genius, your Learning, and your abilities. I do but join with many other ſincere well-wiſhers to you in regretting, that you have not ſomething more of the Spirit of Toleration in Literary matters; that you are ſo haſty in taking up your reſentments, and that you treat ſuch as differ from you in ſo ſevere, and ſo contemptuous a manner.

For

For myſelf as a Member of the Commonwealth of Letters, I am a true Lover of peace and quietneſs, of mutual freedom, candor, and benevolence. I deteſt and I deſpiſe the Squabbles that are perpetually ariſing from the jealouſy and peeviſhneſs of the *genus irritabile Scriptorum.* I am a ſtaunch Republican and a zealous Proteſtant in Literature, nor will ever bear with a Perpetual Dictator, or an Infallible Pope, whoſe Decrees are to be ſubmitted to without appeal, and to be received with implicit aſſent. *Manus hæc inimica tyrannis.* My favourite Principle is the Liberty of Prophecying, and I will maintain it with my laſt breath.

With regard to you in particular, depend upon my ſincerity when I aſſure you, that I ſhall not only always honour you as a man of the firſt rank in Letters, but ſhall be heartily diſpoſed to cultivate your acquaintance, and to merit your good opinion; ſhall be glad of every opportunity of enjoying the pleaſure and profit of your converſation; and moſt willing to enter into as near an intercourſe with you as you ſhall be pleaſed to permit, as a Neighbour, a Member of the ſame Society, and a Friend.

I am with great Truth and Reſpect,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient and

Faithful humble Servant,

R. L.

## LETTER IV.

### To The Reverend Dr L.

Groſvener Square Oct. 12. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE this moment received the favour of your long letter of the 6th, it having been ſent me hither from Prior Park.

I had a great deal to ſay to the contents. In ſome places you have ſhewn I was miſtaken, in others you have convinced me I was not. And if you have ſhewn me I have here and there miſtaken your meaning, I have my revenge very amply, if I could take any pleaſure in it, in ſeeing you are as totally miſtaken in my moral character. But you have ſhut my mouth for ever on the ſubject of your letter; by the information you impart to me in the concluſion, namely that the Mr L. who ſent a few notes to Reading the Editor of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, was your Father. I had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of it, when I pretended to take your uſage of me unkindly in your Prelections. Had I known that, I ſhould not only have forborn complaining, but have applauded your piety. The injurer of your Father's memory (and ſuch you took me to be

be, as appears by what you ſay here) deſerved no quarter from you. And this but gives me one reaſon more to eſteem you. And that I may not continue worſe in your eſteem than I deſerve, give me leave to tell you I am no plagiary of your Father's obſervations. By an odd fancy to a ſtrange unequal writer, I had read Meric Caſaubon's writings thro' and thro'. And I had finiſhed my book of Julian, and it was half printed off, when Dr Jorten wrote me word of this note of Mr L.'s. This is a point of honour in which I am particularly delicate. I will venture to boaſt again to you in this, that I believe no Author was ever more averſe to take to himſelfe any thing that belonged to another. However I owe ſo much to your piety, which is really edifying, as to ſtrike out that note againſt your Father, the very firſt opportunity. It is to this likewiſe, that I am ready to ſacrifice every diſguſt that ſome parts of your laſt might be naturally ſuppoſed to give me; as where you leave the queſtion between us, and dictate to me like a tutor or Pedagogue on my general conduct towards others; in which it is not to be ſuppoſed you could be acquainted with the whole of the caſe, or know my particular provocations, as in the caſe of Gray. I have ſaid to the world, (and they ought to believe me or diſprove me) that I had treated no man roughly, who had not firſt fallen upon me. But I thought it both below me, and impertinent in it ſelfe, to acquaint the public with the particulars. In a word, I repeat it once again, that my uſing

your

your Father with diſreſpect amply juſtified you for every thing I complained of. But (for all I ſaid there, and when I ſaid it) I honoured his memory as one of the moſt learned Perſons of a better Age, if he was, as I ſuppoſe he might be, the Author of the Comments &c. And be aſſured, I eſteem it not amongſt the leaſt of his ſervices to the Public, that he produced you with the reſt of his works. I accept with all cordiality the offer of your friendſhip. You know the worſt of me, and perhaps have given credit to a great deal more than the worſt, I mean the calumnies of my Enemies; for the future you are to believe only as you find.

I am, Dear Sir, Your very faithful

and affectionate humble Servant,

W. W.

P. S. I am here in waiting. I mention it to you from a ſelfiſh view. *Regis* of this month is dying. What ſhould hinder your ſtepping into his place? it would ſurely be the eaſier, for there are now three or four vacancies amongſt the Chaplains by deaths and removals, and it would be an acquiſition to me to have you in this month.

# LETTER V.

## To The Reverend Dr W.

Wincheſter Oct. 14. 1756.

Dear Sir,

I CANNOT omit the firſt opportunity of acknowledging the favour of your very obliging Letter, which is juſt now come to my hands.

I was unwilling to open my complaint to you relating to my Father, till I had, as I thought, totally removed the foundation of your exceptions againſt me. You allow, that I had no reaſon to go out of my way to pay you any particular compliment; and you muſt give me leave ſtill to aver, that on the other hand I have not, upon that or any other account, gone out of my way with deſign to reflect upon you. To what I have already offered upon this head, I might add that the Argument and Subſtance of the XXXII[d] and XXXIII[d] Lectures, which ſeem chiefly to give you diſguſt, were drawn up to the ſame effect, as they now appear, ſome years before your Julian was publiſhed; as I could prove to you inconteſtibly, if required, by the original papers, and by the teſtimony of the Biſhops

of Oxford, Rocheſter, and Norwich, and ſeveral other learned Friends, whom I conſulted upon my whole Plan. I ſimply purſued my plan, and differed from you no otherwiſe than I did from many other eminent writers, againſt whom I could have no prejudice. I thought there was no need of being tender in delivering one's opinion upon a ſubject of ſuch doubtful diſputation as Job: *nulli gravis eſt percuſſus Achilles.* However ſince it has happened contrary to my expectation, in return for your very obliging Conceſſion in regard to my Father, I will very readily endeavour to ſoften or alter any expreſſions which ſtill offend you, and which you ſhall mark to me as ſuch, as far as I can do it conſiſtently with my general Theſis. In excuſe for what may offend you in my laſt, I might alledge, that I have ſaid nothing but what ſome paſſages in your Letter gave me, not only a fair opportunity, but a right to ſay: — but I am unwilling to reſume this ſubject; and take much more pleaſure in returning you my ſincereſt thanks for your very obliging expreſſions of all ſorts. Thoſe of your Poſt-ſcript are particularly ſo in every reſpect; and the reaſon you are ſo kind as to give for your mentioning the thing, would really be a great inducement to me to think of it. But my ambition is at an end; and otherwiſe an attendance of this ſort would be extremely inconvenient to me in my preſent ſituation.

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I write this in a very great hurry, as you may well imagine, when I tell you, I am preparing to

remove with my Family to Durham the beginning of next week. I hope I ſhall there have frequent opportunities of improving the friendſhip which you ſo generouſly offer me, and which I ſhall highly eſteem; and of demonſtrating in every way which lies in my power the ſincerity with which I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt faithful and

affectionate humble Servant,

R. L.

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